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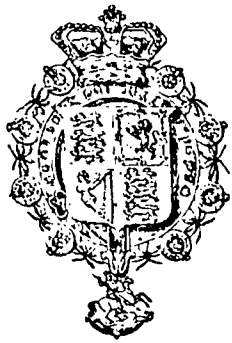
THE

STUART PAPERS.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINALS

IN THE POSSESSION OF HER MAJESTY

THE QUEEN.



VOL. I.

LONDON:

W. N. WRIGHT, 60, PALL MALL;

BOOKSELLER TO THE QUEEN.

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, EDINBURGH.

MDCCCXLVII.

TO

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

THE QUEEN,

THIS WORK,

ELUCIDATING AN IMPORTANT PERIOD OF

ENGLISH HISTORY

AND PRESENTING FACTS BY WHICH THE BENEFITS ARISING

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

THE PROTESTANT HOUSE OF HANOVER

ON THE THRONE OF THESE REALMS

CAN BE PROPERLY ESTIMATED,

IS

DUTIFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

HER MAJESTY'S

FAITHFUL AND DEVOTED SUBJECT

AND

MOST HUMBLE SERVANT AND LIBRARY-KEEPER,

JOHN HULBERT GLOVER.

Library, Windsor Castle,
January, 1, 1847.

LETTERS

OF

FRANCIS ATTERBURY

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

TO 37504 ae

TO

THE CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE

AND SOME OF

THE ADHERENTS OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.

FROM THE ORIGINALS IN HER MAJESTY'S POSSESSION.

VOL. I.

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LONDON:

W. N. WRIGHT, 60, PALL MALL.

BOOKSELLER TO THE QUEEN.

MDCCCXLVII.

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PREFACE.

THE following Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury, which, by the Queen's gracious permission, is now, for the first time, presented to the Public, has been selected from a large mass of Papers, relating to the affairs of the exiled Stuart Family, accumulated by the Chevalier de St. George, and his two sons, during a period of more than half a century.

This large collection, with much that is entirely worthless, contains, even in its present state, Documents and Letters of great importance to the elucidation of the particular period of our history to which they belong, and will be found in many instances to clear up facts that have been hitherto either very imperfectly understood, or entirely misrepresented. It is not, however, intended to enter into any detailed account of these Papers here;—the consideration of the whole as a collection, will more appropriately precede James' own Correspondence.

These Letters have been selected for publication, not indeed as coming first in order of time, but as possessing great interest both in an historical and literary point of view. They completely set at rest the long-mooted question of Atterbury's connection with the Jacobite party previously to his banishment, which was strenuously denied by his friends, and which, by the efforts of such men as Pope, Swift and Arbuthnot, the country has been unwilling to believe in, even up to the present time. They moreover supply information on many points of our

own history, as well as that of the exiled Court, not to be found in other portions of the Correspondence.

In the preparation of these letters, however, for the press, it was soon perceived that interesting and important as they undoubtedly were, they contained passages and allusions which the generality of readers could not, by any possibility, understand. Indeed this was almost a necessary consequence of the circumstances under which they were written, which required a certain mystification to render them unintelligible to all but the initiated few. To have published them in this dark and crude state would have been comparatively useless, and it therefore became essentially necessary to illustrate all such passages as far as it was possible, by the addition of Notes. These, as the reader will perceive, are taken, almost exclusively, from sources not within the reach of the literary world — that is, they are taken from the other portions of the Collection; and the elucidation they afford must be considered the more satisfactory, as it proceeds in all cases from one of the actors; or from those only who, from their position and connection with the Court and Family of James, could possibly have given any clue to many of the transactions. In some cases the information thus obtained has been so extensive, that a serious difficulty not unfrequently arose in confining the selection within the ordinary limits of a Note; and where this could not be accomplished, it has been deemed expedient to place the additional information in an Appendix, to which the reader in such cases is referred.

But the allusions and the mystifications here mentioned were not the only difficulties the reader would have to contend with. Almost every letter contains cant names for persons and things; and portions of each are written entirely in cypher. The passages in cypher have been, with very few exceptions, omitted, and their interpretation

only given, as the retention of them could answer no useful purpose, but would unnecessarily confuse the reader, who may rely, with great confidence, on the correctness of the decyphered portion; that having been performed, in almost all cases, by James Edgar, the Chevalier's private secretary, who was entrusted with his most confidential affairs: and when a doubt has existed concerning the correctness of any decyphered passage, a reference has always been had to the key of the particular cypher employed, if that has been preserved. With respect to the cant names, the case was considered somewhat different. They have in all instances been retained, and their true meaning inserted immediately after them, enclosed between brackets: — and it will be right here to observe, that in giving this interpretation, the titles and other designations used by James and his Court or Agents, have been invariably retained. With the exception of the omission of the cyphers, and modernizing the orthography of the text, the Letters now given to the public are printed in all their integrity.

It is not considered necessary to give even a rapid sketch of Atterbury's life or occupation while at Paris, in the avowed employment of James: the one was too retired to present any prominent point for remark, and the other will be best learnt from the letters themselves and the notes appended to them: but it may be desirable, as much misapprehension exists on the subject, to give what information can be gleaned from other parts of the correspondence, relative to the measures adopted by James to secure the possession of the Bishop's Papers after his death—a point on which he was always extremely sensitive, and therefore proportionably careful that his Agents should be duly prepared for it.

He had on two previous occasions despatched the necessary orders for this purpose—the first on the 5th of February

1725, to Mr. Murray as mentioned in the note on page 121, and the other on the 2d of October in that year to O'Brien. So anxious, however, did he appear to be on this subject, that notwithstanding this last authority, which was still in O'Brien's possession, he forwarded on the 14th of February 1731, a fresh authorization to the same effect. This fact is ascertained from O'Brien's letter of the 5th of March in which he acknowledges its receipt by assuring James "jay receu avec la lettre dont il a plu a David [Le Roy] de m' honorer du 14e fevrier, un ordre de 231 [votre Majesté] par lequel je suis authorisé aprendre toutes les mesures convenables pour me saisir des Papiers de Mr. levesque de Rochester en cas de mort de ce prelat. Christophle [Le Roy] mavoit deja envoyez un pareil ordre en forme de lettre datté du 2e October 1725, qui me devenant apresent inutille, jay cru devoir le renvoyer a 231 qui le trouvera cy joint." The letter he here speaks of as being returned, is now in the Collection; and is almost word for word the same as that stated above to have been forwarded with the same view, to Mr. Murray.

It would appear from a passage in one of Mr. Dicconson's letters dated March 16, 1732, that Atterbury must have been extremely ill in the beginning of February; of which illness, however, "he thought himself in a manner perfectly recovered the night before he dy'd." This event took place at Paris on Tuesday, March 4, 1732,* and seems to have created considerable excitement among the Jacobite party there, arising principally, from the measures adopted to secure his Papers. On the ninth of that month Mr. Dicconson, in reference to this latter point, wrote to James narrating a conference between Mr. Kynaston, Mr. Lloyd and himself relative to the measures to be adopted concerning them, and sub-

* O'Brien's Letter, announcing the event, is dated "Lundi, 10e. Mars," and in it the Bishop is said to have died on the Tuesday preceding.

mitting certain suggestions for his consideration. He at the same time wrote to Sir William Ellis, to whom he observes: "I believe you will have heard the last post, of Bishop of Rochester's death, which was very suddain on Tuesday morning last. The night before, as he was going to bed, [he] sayd he had not found himself so well of a long time; but waked about one o'clock extreame ill, rung for his servants and sent for a surgeon; but before they could bleed him, he dyd, betwixt two and three. No doubt His Majesty will be extremely troubled at his death, at least we are all so here that knew him and knew how capable he was of serving the king: for I believe there are few men in the three kingdoms, if any, that could equal him for quickness of witt, knowledge of his country, and elegancy in word and writing; and with that, intripidd in his temper and most steddy in his loyalty. In fine it pleases God to deprive the King of many good and usefull subjects; I hope in time, the Divine Providence will supply those wants by some turn of affairs we cannot foresee."

On the following day (March 10,) letters were despatched to Rome from O'Brien, Lord Sempill, and Mr. Salkeld. The first of these announced the fact in few words, merely observing "levesque de Rochester mourut subitement mardis passez a deux heurs du matin. Cela na esté sceu dans le publiq que le mecredis, par grand soin que le Lord Simpell, Mr. Lloyd, et le nomé Sakel ont pris pour tenir la chose cachée; auquun de ces trois Messieurs nayant pas voulus men donner avis. Malgrez toutes leurs precautions, je le sceus le mardis au soir: jen informay dabord le Comissaire qui fit a neuf heurs du soir mettre le scellez sur tous les effet du dit evesque et cela comme de luy mesme, sans faire en rien, mention de moy. Il est vray que depuis le matin jusquau soir, ces trois Messieurs

ont esté maitre de tout, mais comme je crois quils se seront mefier les uns des autres, jymagine quils nauront touchez a rien, et sils lont fait, vraysemblablement je le decouvriray."

Lord Sempill in his letter to James, after expressing his grief and surprise at the Bishop's sudden death, proceeds to acquaint the Chevalier with the trust reposed in him; "As he honour'd me, Sir," he observes, "with a remarkable degree of friendship and confidence, so when the frequent attacks of the gout in his stomach made him apprehend, what has hapned, to be suddenly cutt off, he often desir'd and engag'd me to promise, that I would use my endeavours to save his Papers from falling into improper hands, and in conjunction with Mr. Salkeld in whom he also much confided, to preserve them, unseen and untouch'd, till his son in law should arrive; who, he intended should, in our presence, make such a disposition of them, as Duty to Your Majesty, and a just regard to his friends, as well as to his own honour and character requir'd. Sir, this sacred Trust shall be most faithfully and religiously discharged, as far as depends on me; and I believe I may give Your Majesty the same assurance both with reference to Mr. Morice and Mr. Salkeld. I am very sensible of the important nature of such a deposit, and humbly beg Your Majesty will so far rely on our Honour and Loyalty, as to be satisfy'd, that no presumption or curiosity shall take place, and that none of us shall in the least, attempt to peep into the contents of any Papers."

Mr. Salkeld's first letter enters a little more into the particulars of the Bishop's last moments; "Our great and illustrious Prelate the Bishop of Rochester" he states, "that anchor of our hopes, that pillar of our cause, and that ornament of our Church and nation, is no more. On Tuesday morning last (*horresco et lachrymo referens*) in less

than a quarter of an hour's struggle with death, he expir'd. It being between two and three in the morning when he dy'd, he had nobody with him in those important moments but his Domesticks. He went to bed the night before seemingly in very good health, after having writ several letters, and among the rest one to His Majesty. 'Tis a very remarkable circumstance, that he dy'd, as he had continually liv'd, and as he himself would have wish'd to dye (viz.) with the pen, as it were, in his hand in his Master's service. The Family, as soon as their surprize and confusion wou'd give them leave, sent, according to My Lord's intentions, for My Lord Sempill and me; and we have remain'd in the house ever since to render the last offices of duty to our deceased friend, and to wait for the arrival of Mr. Morice. Had we been call'd for a little sooner, or indeed had we not been depriv'd as it were, of our faculties for some time thro' the violence of our grief and surprize that overpower'd us, we might have sent the news to the King our Master by the post of that morning. But in truth we were so thunderstruck with the suddenness of the event (nor is it to be wonder'd at considering the greatness of the occasion) that we had not our reason or senses about us. His Majesty, I hope, will be so good as to make allowance for the extraordinary circumstances we were in, and not impute that to a defect in duty which was purely the effect of our consternation and astonishment."

His next letter (dated May 5, 1732) enters more into detail respecting the measures adopted by Lord Sempill and himself towards securing the Bishop's property and particularly his Papers. He therein tells his correspondent "lest you may not be rightly informed at Rome of the part I have acted on this melancholy occasion, I think myself obliged to let you know exactly how the matter was transacted. As soon as ever the Bishop dy'd, the servants (as knowing both my Lord's and Mr. Morice's intentions in case of such an acci-

dent) fetch'd My Lord Sempill and me. The first thing we did, after our surprize and trouble wou'd give us leave to make use of our reason, was to charge all the family to keep My Lord's death an entire secret, till we gave them further orders: and this we did not only that we might be able to secure the Papers, but that we might likewise convey out of the house, the most precious and valuable part of his effects: for at this time we were not sure of having the French King's Scellé, either to secure the latter from falling into the hands of the Farmers of the Aubene, or the former from those of the English Ambassador. But these being the principal object of our care was the first thing we remov'd. I lock'd them up myself in several boxes, and kept the keys in my own custody; and My Lord Sempill conveyed them so lock'd up, into a place of security. There they were again lock'd up in a strong Press by themselves, and the key of that Press put into the hands of a third person. Immediately after this we sent an express to acquaint Mr. Morice with what we had done, and to desire him to come over with the utmost expedition. This done, My Lord Sempill and I, who were well appriz'd both of the Bishop's intentions and Mr. Morice's dispositions, remained in the house, as contented as we could be in such an afflicting situation, and fully satisfy'd in our own minds with the consciousness of having done our duty, as well with respect to the will of our deceas'd friend, as to the interest of the King our Master and his Subjects. But five or six days after this, Lord Sempill was informed by Mr. Inese, that Colonel O'B. [O'Brien] was highly dissatisfy'd with our conduct in this Affair, and that he had an order from His Majesty to take all the Bishop's Papers into his possession. This you may imagine we did not very readily believe, and the rather, because Mr. O'B. had let so many days pass without telling or signifying to us in any manner, that he had such

an order. This part of his conduct I must own, is past my comprehension; for if he really desired to be possessed of the Papers, as I'm fully persuaded he did, why did he not vouchsafe to communicate this order, the only thing in the world that cou'd justify his claim to them, and the thing too, that he must be assur'd we should have as great a regard to as he himself? At last Mr. Inness, having convinc'd Lord Sempill that the King had actually sent some directions of that kind to the Colonel, His Lordship immediately consented to deposit the boxes in the Scot's College till Mr. Morice's arrival, where they would be as safely lodg'd for the King's purpose, as if Mr. O'B. had had them in his own custody. Two days after this, Mr. Morice arrived and took the affair out of our hands into his own conduct and management."

This account is, in most particulars, confirmed by Lewis Inese himself, in a letter he addressed to the Chevalier on the 16th of March, which, as being important and coming from one of the principal actors in this affair, is here given entire.

Mr. Inese to James.

Sir,

I intended by last post to have had the honour of giving your Majesty what particulars I could learn relateing to the Bishop of Rochester's sudden death: But I was so entirely taken up in getting all the information I could about his papers in order to have them secured, which as things happend was no easy matter. So I had no time then to write, but informed Collonel O' Bryen of all, who no doubt gave your Majesty an account. By what I have now learnd it appeares plainly that the Bishop's intention was to have securd his papers in such maner as that neither your Majesty nor the French court, could come at them

after his death. He had (as I now find) often spoke of finding a secure place for his papers to Lord Sempill, who was the person he most trusted. But the matter being put of from time to time, the papers, lockt up in severall boxes, were still in the Bishops own possession when he died. That very morning, soon after he expired, Lord Sempill and one M. Sachel (another of the Bishops confidents) opend one of the boxes and putt into it the Bishops portefeuill and severall loose papers they found in his bureau, and then lockt up the box and gave the keyes to be kept by this M. Sachell. This was done in presence of all the Bishops domesticks, and Lord Sempill assured me that no paper was taken owt of the boxes, nor any one lookt into. After which, the boxes were carried owt by Lord Sempill to some privat place in the town. All this was done about 7 aclock in the morning, and the Scellé was not put on all the Bishops effects by the Commissary till 9 at night. Meantime Collonel O'Bryan and I thought the papers secure under the Scellé. But next day hapening to examin Lord Sempill a little strictly about the matter, he ownd to me that the boxes with the papers had been sent owt to a privat place before the Scellé was putt on. He gave for reason of this proceeding, the great trust the Bishop had putt in him, and the strict injunctions he gave him that none of his papers should come into stranger hands, and most particularly not into the hands of Collonel O'Bryen. I told him that whatever aversion the Bishop may have had to Collonel O'Bryen, he, Lord Sempill, should take notice that the Collonell was trusted and employd by your Majesty in your affaires at this place. I added that to my certain knowledge, the Collonell had your Majesties Speciall Order to take into his custody all the Bishops papers that anywayes related to your affaires, to be afterwards disposed of as your Majesty should think fitt. This was no small surprise to Lord Sempill, yet he

answered without hesitation, That alltho' it might be lookt on as a breach of trust in him to give up these papers to Collonel O'Bryen, yet, if your Majesty ordered it, he was resolved to obey your Orders, whatever the consequence might prove. And that the papers should accordingly be given up assoon as M. Morice, the Bishops son in law, (who is dayly expected) should arrive.

"It was my opinion from the beginning, that the less noise were made about this matter, the better, so as the papers might be secure. Meantime Collonel O'Bryen being uneasy that the papers should any longer remain in hands he did not trust, was about obtaining an Order from Court to have the papers enquired after and seised where ever they were, which must have made a great noise. To avoid which an expedient was proposed, to which Lord Sempill consented, and that was, that the papers should immediatly be brought and deposited in the Archives of our College untill M. Morice should arrive. And accordingly the boxes with the papers were this morning brought by Lord Sempill and M. Sachell and placed in our said Archives, M. Sachell retaining still in his hands the keyes of all the boxes.

"Thus your Majesty has a succinct account of what has yet past in that matter, ther will perhaps be more to be said when the boxes are opend. As to the poor Bishops death, it was indeed dreadfully sudden, being chockd in three minutes after the violent fitt took him, without haveing time to say God help him. I hope at least your Majesties affaires will be far from suffering by his death; for had he lived to see a restoration, I am affrayd he had proved very uneasy to your Majesty on many accounts. He was otherwise a great man both as to naturall and acquired parts, but his many faults made his parts useless, or uneasy to those who had to deall with him.

"I pray God to bless and preserve your Majesty and all

the Royall Familly, and am ever with most dutifull and most profound respect and veneration

Sir

Your Majesties most humble,
most obedient and most faithfull
subject and old servant

L. Inese."

Paris, 16th March, 1732.

It was, however, neither James' wish nor intention that any portion of the Bishop's papers should be distributed till he was himself perfectly satisfied that such a step could be taken without either detriment to himself or his cause. He therefore expressed great displeasure at what he considered Lord Sempill's officiousness; and was only calmed by the assurance he received from Inese, in the above letter, that they were now safely deposited in the Scotch College. Lord Sempill, however, when he discovered these feelings, and the light in which his conduct was viewed by the Chevalier, thought it necessary to address the following letter to him :—

Lord Sempill to James.

"Sir,

I informd Yo ? Majesty, three weeks ago, of the particular Trust the Bisno[illegible] ? Rochester was pleased to place in Mr. Salkeld and me, both during the absence and presence of his Son in Law, and of the promise I had made to him on that head. Having therefore, upon the surprise of his Death, reason to fear the interposition of the Hannoverian Embassador, a seisure of all his effects by the Farmers of the Droit d'Aubaine, and, for aught we knew, the curiosity of the French Court; we thought it necessary, on all accounts, to transport his Papers out

of his House, and lodge them where they would not be discovered till Mr. Morice should arrive and make the proper disposition of them, which I had the honour to mention to Your Majesty.

" In this view I lockt the Boxes that contain'd the Papers in the presence of all his Domesticks, and deliver'd the keyes of them to Mr. Salkeld, who would have no access to the place I had provided for them.

" I thought, Sir, that a step taken with such candour, and in such circumstances, could meet with no reproach, nor give offence to any, save those we intended to disappoint by it; yet I have heard, by the Town-talk, that Colonel O'Bryan is highly offended, and am well assur'd that he made applications, and took measures tending to raise, if possible, a suspicion that such Papers as might regard Your Majesty, or your good subjects, were not safe in my custody. This, Sir, cannot but be infinitely sensible to one of my Principles and Sentiments, who am entirely at a loss to judge upon what circumstance Mr. O'Bryan can pretend to ground either his resentments, or his suspicions. I have deserv'd neither. But my innocence is not a sufficient support to me while he seems to act in consequence of the Trust vested in him by Your Majesty. I am struck with that Idea more than I can express, and should not be able t bear the thought of any violence intended against me, [illegible] Your Majesty's behalf, could I imagine such a [illegible]ing would be any way encourag'd, or countenanc'd by Your Majesty: but I am too much convinc'd of your just and gracious disposition, to suppose that any suggestions to my dishonour will find admittance in your Royal Breast.

" Sir, upon considering the matter in all the lights it can bear, I must needs believe 'tis impossible that Colonel O'Bryan should really doubt of my honour and integrity, or think me capable of deviating, in the least, from my

Duty to Your Majesty. He is, perhaps, mov'd, and may think himself neglected, on account of his being employ'd by Your Majesty, because Mr. Salkeld and I did not immediately apprise him of the Bishop's Death, and leave the whole management of whatever consequences might attend it to his Discretion. If this be the motive of the strange *Eclat* he has made, it is the more unreasonable, that we were absolutely ignorant of any orders from Your Majesty, and indeed could never have imagin'd that he had such orders, to seize on all the Bishop's Papers. But besides our ignorance in that respect, I humbly beg leave to represent to Your Majesty, that any application to him would have been directly contrary to the repeated injunctions we received from our deceas'd friend, and consequently a complete violation of the Trust repos'd in us; which is not only known to Mr. Morice, but also to several others that were acquainted with the Bishop's sentiments as to the gentleman in question. The Bishop, no doubt, had his reasons; what they were, or how grounded; never was, nor is my concern: But surely Your Majesty will consider, that the most part of his correspondents had such an opinion of his judgement, as will incline them to believe he had good ones, and therefore to wish and desire that his Directions may be punctually executed.

"However Sir, tho' I had proceeded with such care and caution, that no suspicion could remain on the mind of any man as to the security of the Papers, and tho' I foresaw that the puting of them in a more publick place would render me lyable to the censure of persons concerned therein; yet assoon as Mr. O'Bryan required me, in Your Majesty's name, to produce them (which he did through Mr. Inese; for he never spoke to me on the subject) I readily consented to deposit them in the Scots College, where they still remain.

"Mr. Morice arrived here on the 19th, and is not a litle

surpris'd and afflicted at all that has happen'd on this occasion, both in regard to the memory of his Father in Law and his own honour. But he is so zealously attached to the Cause, that if the expedient proposed, of which I suppose Your Majesty is informed by other hands, is agreed to, I still hope he may return in good temper to England.

"In the mean time, permitt me, Sir, to presume so far on Your Majesty's goodness, and on my known zeal for your Sacred Person and Cause, as to indulge my self with the opinion, that no misrepresentation of my Conduct will induce Your Majesty to suspect, that I can ever accept of any trust, or enter in any measure, or even entertain any thought that is not perfectly conformable to the profound and inviolable respect with which my last breath shall prove that I am

SIR
Your Majesty's most faithfull,
Most humble and most obedient
Subject and Servant
SEMPILL."

Paris, March 31. 1732.

This was followed on the 30th of June by a long letter from Mr. Salkeld (probably to Edgar) [illegible]lpatory alike of Lord Sempill and of himself for the part they had acted in this affair. After acknowledging the receipt of a letter from his correspondent and assuring him that he was far from being offended at the opinion he had given concerning the late transaction with respect to the Bishop's Papers, he proceeds to say:—"But at the same time that I'm glad you have given me your opinion of the matter, I must own to you I'm sorry to find it so different from what I expected it to be: and since I

cannot but look upon the judgement you seem to have formed upon the whole to be still partial and erroneous, you must allow me to believe, that the further lights you profess to have received in this affair have not been true ones: and I need not tell you, that let a man's eyes be never so good, yet if he views a thing in a wrong light, or looks at it through a false medium, he 'll certainly make a wrong judgement of his object. In the first place you think, that the removing of the papers out of the house on the Bishop's death without Col. O'Brien's concurrence was a very extraordinary step, and to this alone you impute all the inconveniences and disturbance that ensued; and you suppose you know France too well to believe the reasons we alledge for that part of our conduct to be of weight enough to justify it: or if they were sufficient to make such a step necessary, you still think we were indispensably obliged to notify it immediately afterwards to the Colonel, or at least to Mr. Inese. This I think, Sir, is exactly the substance of your opinion on this matter, as it appears in your letter. Now, if it can be clearly demonstrated, that the removal of the papers in that clandestine manner, as you are pleased to term it, was absolutely necessary on many accounts; that when we had removed them, we were so far from being obliged to notify it to Col. O'Brien, that we were under the strongest obligations and engagements to the contrary; and when 'tis further considered, that the telling, or not telling of what we had done, immediately to Mr. Inese cou'd make no difference with respect to the prudence or imprudence of the action, and that Mr. Inese himself, who was sensible of this, and who well knew the reasons and motives we had for such a proceeding, did entirely approve of it; when all this, I say, is fully demonstrated and consider'd, you certainly must change your sentiments, if you are unprejudiced in the matter, and be convinc'd, that the blame does not

belong to the persons, on whom so much pains has been taken to throw it. You'll allow, I presume, that on such an emergency, as that of the Bishop's death, it became us, who were his friends and had the honour of his confidence, to secure his papers and effects in the best manner we cou'd from accidents of all sorts, for the benefit of his heirs and all other parties concerned: you'll farther allow, I suppose, that a man, who has a trust reposed in him by any one, and more especially by a friend and a dying person, is indispensably obliged to execute that trust conformably to the injunctions and intentions of the person that gave it. It remains for me then to shew you what these were; as also to give you a fuller account than I did before, of the dangers and accidents the papers were liable to, which made it necessary for us to take the step we did, and that with all possible secrecy and dispatch. The first and most pressing danger we had to guard against was that of the Farmers d'Aubene: for it is to be considered, Sir, that the King of France is by virtue of the Droit d'Aubene, the sole heir to all the effects of unnaturalliz'd foreigners that dye in his dominions: that this Droit d'Aubene is let out to Farmers, who on the first notice of the death of a stranger, immediately seize on his effects, and when once they have got possession of them, 'tis not even in the King's power to take them from them. The king indeed can, before these Farmers have seiz'd, secure a stranger's effects from them, by ordering his own scellé to be put on for the benefit of the dead person's heirs and executors. But then, as we had no assurance of this favour from the Court of France, when the Bishop dy'd, that reason alone was sufficient to oblige us, if we wou'd act with common prudence, immediately to remove the papers and effects, as far as it could be done, out of the possibility of being seiz'd and confiscated. And thô some hours after the papers were remov'd, when we were

packing up the plate, books, and the rest of the most valuable and moveable furniture, we were informed the Cardinal would grant the King's Scellé to secure the effects for the Bishop's executors, and thoô on that information, we did desist from sending out the goods, which we had got packed up for that purpose, yet was it by no means, either prudent or safe to fetch back the papers, and leave them to take the same fate with the other effects. For, however sufficient the Cardinal's promise was, towards ensuring the latter from the Farmers of the Aubene, it was of no manner of use towards securing the former from the other dangers they were exposed to. We knew very well how glad the English Ministers wou'd be, by any means in the world, to make themselves masters of the Bishop's papers and correspondence: and thô the Cardinal might not be disposed to gratify them so far, as readily to deliver them up at their request, yet we did not, we could not, know how far an Embassador might prevail on one pretext or other; especially if he should take the advantage of Mr. Morice's absence to claim them in his name, as a subject of his master's. The apprehensions we had from this quarter, appear every day more and more reasonable, from what the English Government has since done and is is still doing in order to come at some of those papers: 'twas with this view they took up Mr. Morice on his return to England, and not only opened the leaden coffin in which the poor Bishop's remains were laid, but searched into his very body and head in quest of papers; and are still using their utmost endeavours on this side the water to come at those that remain under the Scellé. But besides what we had to apprehend from the influence of the English Ministry, we had sufficient reason to be in dread of the Court of France, with respect to itself and its own curiosity. I need not tell you what jealousies and

suspicions the Cardinal de F. [Fleury] had long entertain'd of the Bishop in regard to his meddling in their jansenistical intrigues. And what cou'd be more natural for a prime Minister who was thus prepossess'd against the Bishop, than to lay hold on such an occasion, in order to satisfy his curiosity by inspecting his papers? When once he had them under the King's Scellé, he was entirely master to do what he pleased with them: and if that had happen'd to be the case, do you think we should have been applauded for omitting to do what now we are condemned for having done? These, Sir, were the difficulties we were surrounded with, and the several dangers we had to guard against on that melancholy event: they are neither imaginary nor trivial: and I believe, if you weigh them well and consider all circumstances, you'll be convinc'd that the step we took was no otherwise extraordinary, than as it was the only one we could take to secure the papers from those several accidents, and to justify our own discretion in so important an affair.

"The next thing I'm to shew you is, that having taken this necessary step, we were so far from being oblig'd to notify it to Colonel O'Brian, that we were absolutely oblig'd to the contrary. You are no Stranger to the mutual prejudices and ill-will that had long subsisted between the Bishop and that Gentleman. In consequence thereof the Bishop had often, very often in his life-time, enjoined both Lord Sempill and me, that in case he should dye in France, we wou'd take care that none of his papers should ever come into the possession or under the inspection of that Gentleman; and that as we knew his intentions with respect to all his papers both of a publick and private nature, we wou'd solemnly promise him to see them fulfill'd to the utmost of our power, and this without any communication or participation with the gentleman aforesaid. Now, I desire to know of you or any Gentleman of honour, whether in

such a trust as this was, we were at liberty to violate the principal condition of it, even thô our own judgment had disapprov'd of it. But if this were the case with respect to the Colonel, you say we had done wisely to notify our proceeding immediately to Mr. Inese, because we knew he had the honour of his Majesty's confidence. As to this particular of imparting the matter to Mr. Inese immediately after it was done, for my own part, I declare, I cannot see which way there cou'd have been either any harm or good in it, unless it had been possible for Mr. Inese to have gone where the boxes were, and put his seal upon them, which it was not: his being told of it sooner or later, did not at all change the nature of the step that was taken, nor the situation the papers were in. They were, and wou'd have been still equally in our custody and power, and Colonel O'Brian wou'd have been as far from being satisfy'd, if Mr. Inese had known it imediately, as he was, when he knew it a little time afterwards. And this, I think, appears most evidently from the Colonel's own behaviour: for the greatest bustle and the loudest complaints that he made, were after he knew that Mr. Inese was acquainted with the step, and seemed entirely to approve of it. But whether in this article relating to Mr. Inese there was any imprudence or not, I am little concerned in it as to my own vindication: for it was my Lord Sempill only, that conferred with Mr. Inese during the whole transaction; nor did I know that his Lordship had not acquainted him with the matter on their first meeting.

"I shall beg leave to make some little reply to your other remarks, and so conclude this tedious affair. The Colonel, you say, was under no necessity of acquainting us with the Order he had from his Majesty; and yet at the same time you suppose we were under an obligation to obey it. Pray how could we obey what we had not so much as heard of? Or how could we know there was any such Order in being

unless he would vouchsafe to acquaint us with it? But perhaps in your reasoning, you confound this special Order with the Colonel's general Commission, and suppose that the latter entitled him to the same proof of our respect, even thô he had had no particular commission relating to this affair. In general this may be true: and out of regard to the character with which the King is pleased to vest him, one wou'd in all cases, that will admit of it, be ready to pay him a suitable deference and respect. But this consideration can by no means be of weight in the case before us; where we were expressly forbid to have any recourse to him at all, or suffer him to have any hand in the management of the matter. Nothing therefore in nature cou'd justify our entering into any measures with the Colonel in this affair, except it were the special Order, which he had from the King, relating to that subject, and which, considering the interest his Majesty might be supposed to have in the Papers, might possibly dispense with our obligation of adhering strictly to the letter of the Bishop's injunctions. But then in order hereto, it was absolutely necessary we should be apprized of the Royal Mandate, and have the satisfaction of knowing its real purport and extent. But whilst the Colonel suppos'd the papers to be still in the house and under the Commissary's Scellé, you say he might reasonably think the signification of his orders unnecessary. This may be true, had he been sure the papers were there, but I think is hardly so upon a bare and an ill-grounded supposition. But as soon as he knew the contrary, why should he not communicate his Commission? Why not make some propositions, or try to have the King's pleasure comply'd with, without noise or éclat? Why choose rather to make a publick outcry against us for having done what was our duty to do in the situation we were in, as well with regard to his Majesty's interests, as to those of the Bishop and his family? Were

we to suspect our selves and our own fidelity; or indeed to imagine any body else wou'd suspect it? No: I am confident the Colonel himself did not. Whatever, therefore, may be alledg'd or pretended, all his concern and uneasiness cou'd proceed from nothing but his own disappointment; having flattered himself, that by virtue of his Majesty's order, and the steps that he had taken thereupon, he would certainly be able to get the possession of the Bishop's papers and correspondence if he chanc'd to dye in Paris. The account you give of the nature of the King's Commission to the Colonel, exactly answers to the idea I always had of it, from the consideration of his Majesty's wisdom and goodness: but those limitations and restrictions which you mention, and which were so reasonable in themselves and so worthy of his Majesty, were never acknowledged here till since the affair was ended, nor could ever be guess'd at from the manner and circumstances of that Gentleman's proceeding. His pretensions from first to last, were to have the possession of the papers, to be himself the Inspector and Examiner of them, and the sole judge of what did, or did not, belong to his Majesty's service, and of what did, or did not, belong to Mr. Morice or the family. Let any indifferent and disinterested person judge, whether this was acting within the limitations of his Commission, and whether Mr. Morice as the Bishop's Executor, could think himself obliged to comply with such proposals, even thô there had lain no objection against the person of Col. O'Brien. And here give me leave to observe to you, that besides the fore-mentioned reasons which we had for not acting with that Gentleman in this affair, Mr. Morice had other material ones peculiar to himself. Living, as he does, in the quality of a subject to the usurper, he thought himself not at liberty to have any interview with Colonel O'Brien, and even for that very reason of his being the King's known Agent and Minister: and he thought this

cautiousness still more necessary, as the other's conduct had made the matter so publick in Paris, and so much the subject of every Englishman's conversation. It was therefore for very solid reasons, and not thrô pique or want of temper, much less thrô any ill advice given him, that Mr. Morice chose to transact the matter with Mr. Dickison, or any honourable person that had the King's confidence, without any known character or commission. That Mr. Morice in his conversation and discourse upon these points, did sometimes lose his temper, and let fall some indiscreet and unguarded expressions, I cannot deny. None was more concerned at it, or endeavoured more to prevent it than myself. You know he's naturally warm and lively; too hasty to consider things, at first, with all the allowances that ought to be made; and perhaps too frank in declaring his sentiments of things and persons, according as they strike or affect his imagination at that instant. But as to the Loyalty of his heart, and his good dispositions towards the Royal Family, I believe I may venture to say, that no accidents or occurrences can shake him.

"Those jealousies and alarms, which I apprehended this éclat made about the Bishop's papers, might excite in the breasts of his Majesty's friends in England, you seem to look upon as altogether unlikely, or rather, if I rightly understand you, as impossible to happen; because you suppose the deceased had no Correspondents in England. You must know, Sir, as well as I, that thô he had not many there, yet he had some, and those of highest rank, as well as greatest importance to the King's affairs. But were they never so few; nay, even thô he had none, unless you'll suppose at the same time, that the King has no friends there who desire his Restoration, the same reasoning will still hold good, (viz.) that any éclat or dispute here among his subjects upon a point, which may

be so construed on the other side, as to raise disadvantageous notions of his Majesty, is highly imprudent, and may prove very prejudicial to his Interests.

"I hope what I have laid before you on this subject, will be sufficient to convince you, that in all this transaction, we have strictly adher'd to the rules of Loyalty, Duty, Honour and Prudence. Loyalty, as it was our first concern and unalterable resolution, at all hazards, to secure, as far as depended upon us, whatever related to his Majesty's Service; Duty, as we us'd our best endeavours to execute the trust repos'd in us by the Bishop, without any violation of the superior duty we ow'd to our Sovereign; Honour, as we discharg'd both these, without any sinister designs, or any selfish views of interest or curiosity, and with a suitable regard to all Parties concern'd; and Prudence, as we took the only step, and pursued the only measures, that according to human probability, cou'd secure the Deposit committed to our trust, from all the several accidents and dangers with which it was encompass'd. What we have done has met with a general approbation in these parts, among all unprejudic'd persons, in spite of all efforts to the contrary; and will not, I hope, meet with a different fate in the place, where of all others, it wou'd afflict me most to be disapprov'd of."

On the second of April, James wrote to Mr Inese acknowledging the receipt of his letter dated March the 16th, and telling him that he had "The post before, receaved one of the 10th, from Lord Semphill." "I own," he further observes, "I could be but both surprised and displeased to find that so much pains should have ben taken to conceal the Bishop of Rochester's death, and that even some of his Papers should have ben carryed away without being included in the Scellé put on his others effects, and without giving any kind of information of these matters to Colonel O'Bryen; but what you tell me of the above mentioned Papers being

now in deposite in your College, does in some measure, attone for former neglect; of which, I am persuaded, Lord Sempill will be too sensible, for to fall into the like mistakes on any other occasion. I desire you will communicate to him what I here say about him, which is all that is needful in answer to his letter, and in return to what you write on his subject."

"As for the Bishop's Papers, I send Colonel O'Bryen my directions about them, which he will communicate to you: and I make not the least doubt that Mr. Morrice will chearfully concur in the execution of them, since he must be sensible that the confidence I had in the Bishop, and the share he had in my affairs, give me a right to all such Papers as he left anyways relating to them; and that the present situation of my affairs is such, as cannot permit me to allow them to be out of my own power: But when it shall please God to alter that situation, I shall have no difficulty in letting him have such of them as may contribute to the honour of the Bishop's memory. I would have writ to Mr. Morice myself on that melancholy occasion, but that I thought a message by you, in the present circumstances, might be more agreable to him. You will therefore acquaint him with what I here say relating to him; accompanying it with the kindest expressions towards himself, which his own merit and his near relation to the deceas'd Lord, make so justly his due. My concern for his loss is equal to that zeal which made the Bishop do and suffer so much for the good cause, and to those great talents he was endowed with. And I heartily wish it may be one day in my power, as much as it is now in my will, to show Mr. Morrice and his family, the just and grateful regard I have for the Bishop's memory."

Inese's letter of the 16th of March, was followed by another on the 24th; between which dates Mr. Morrice had arrived at Paris. This letter, as best carrying on a

connected account of what was transacted concerning the Bishop's Papers, ought not to be abridged and is therfore given here entire.

MR. INESE TO JAMES.

"SIR,

Since my letter to your Majesty about the late Bishop of Rochesters papers, his son in law M. Morice arrived; and next day after his arrivall came to me with the keyes of the boxes in which the papers are, desireing to take owt some papers, and upon my refusall to let any of the boxes be opend unless Collonel O'Bryen were present and consented to it, he went away very angry. But returned next morning with M. Floyd who used many arguments to perswad me to it, but finding he could not prevaill, I insisting still that it would be a breach of trust in me to comply, besides that it would be acting directly contrary to your Majesties intentions intimited in your Order directed to Collonel O'Bryen. Upon this M. Floyd and M. Morice went straight to the Duke of Berwick, and gott him to go allong with them to the Garde des Sceaux (who happend to be in town) to obtain an Order from him to remove the papers from our College to the Bishops house wher M. Morice would be master of them. I presently sent and informed Collonel O'Bryen of their dessign, and he went immediatly to the Garde des Sceaux, and gott what M. Floyd pretends that Minister had promised to the Duke of Berwick (perhaps on a false exposé) to be quite alterd. That very afternoon they returned to the College with a Commissary who had orders to putt the Scellé on the boxes with the papers, which accordingly he did, and then writt down his procéz verball (as they call a particular account of all that was said or done on the occasion). In this procéz he charged me with the keeping and guardianship of said boxes and papers till further order. Upon this

M. Floyd and M. Morice insisted that the boxes should be transported by the Commissary to the Bishops house, as they pretended the Garde des Sceaux had that very morning promised to the Duke of Berwick. The Commissary answered he had receaved no such orders, but was on the contrary ordered to leave them in my custody till new orders came, which was accordingly done, and so they parted very much owt of humour upon their being disappointed.

"I fear ther will be yet some squable about the papers when the boxes are opend. M. Morice sayes he had strict injunctions from the Duchesse of B. [Buckingham] and severall others of your Majesties friends in England with whom the Bishop kept privat corespondence, to have all their letters burnt in his presence: which if it be not done will, as he says, make great clamour and ill blood on that side. The Bishop used to be very nice in tieing up the letters he receaved in bundles, each persons letters by themselves, with the name and datte on the outside, so that all the letters may be known without unfolding or looking into any of them. Which being, it will be easy to putt together all your Majesties letters to the Bishop, and the coppies of his (which I know he allways kept) and all other papers that relate to your Majesties Service, and to have them sealld up with the sealls of two or more persons that shall be present, and that be done upon the spot the minute they are taken owt of the boxes. And what bundles of letters ther may be from the Duke of Ormonde, or other Correspondents that may have been concernd in your Majesties Service, may be sealld up by themselves and remain in Collonel O'Bryens custody till your Majesties further orders.

"As to Papers relatting to the Bishops familly concerns, your Majesty will no doubt allow them to be given up to M. Morice. And as to letters from the Bishops privat correspondents in England, the question will be whether they

are to be burnt as M. Morice sayes the persons themselves require: or if they are also to be sealld up in bundles till further orders. But if this last be done, I find M. Morice will never consent they be lodged in Collonel O'Bryens hands, he having, as he affirms, positive orders to the contrary from the persons concernd.

"Ther may perhaps arrise some difficulty about what the Bishop may have writt down relateing to severall conferences he had with M. de Pezé, the Minister haveing recommended to Collonel O'Bryen to take speciall care of what papers may relate to that matter. I have one of Marquis de Pezés letters, which at the Collonells desire I gott with some difficulty from Lord Sempill who had been interpreter betwixt the Bishop and M. de Pezé. I scarce beleave the Court of France will require the Bishops papers relateing to these Conferences, becaus they will be all in English.

"This, Sir, is all the account I can yet give your Majesty of this matter, which I hope will be finishd some day of this week. I wish it may end without noise, and that M. Morice may have no just reason to complean when he returns to England. In order to that I have done all I could to persuade him and M. Floyd to an amicable conference on the subject with Collonell O'Bryen who was willing to meet them at this College any day they would appoint: but neither of them would agree to it, so much they are prejudiced against him; for which I know no reason but that, as your Majesty knowes, the Bishop himself was so.

"I fear I have now wearied your Majesty, for which I most humbly beg pardon, and am with most dutifull and most profound respect and veneration

Sir,

Your Majesties most humble, most obedient and most faithfull subject and old servant,

Paris, 24th Mareh, 1732. L. Inese."

Mr. Morice, on his arrival at Paris, finding, as above stated, that the Bishop's Papers were all deposited in the Scotch College, under the French King's Scellé, and that he could neither prevail on Mr. Inese nor Colonel O'Brien to put him in possession of even such portions as might be justly considered private, and appertaining solely to the family of the deceased Prelate, without a direct authority from James himself, and the French Government, addressed a Letter to Lord Sempill (which will be noticed presently) requesting his good offices with the Chevalier to give the necessary authority for delivering them up to him. Besides writing this Letter, he prevailed also on the Duke of Berwick to intercede for him with the French Ministry; and in addition to all these efforts, he presented Memorials to M. Chauvelin, the Garde des Sceaux, and to Cardinal Fleury. This latter Document still exists, and as forming a material link in the history of this affair, is here printed.

A SON ÉMINENCE MONSEIGNEUR LE CARDINAL DE FLEURY.

"MONSEIGNEUR,

Le Sieur Morice, Gentilhomme Anglois, cy devant Grand Bailly de Westminster, Gendre et Héritier de feu Milord Evêque de Rochester, prend la liberté d'exposer à Vôtre Éminence la conduite qu'on tient à son égard, au sujet des Papiers de feu son Beaupère, qui restent encore sous le Scellé dans le College des Ecossois, parmy lesquels il y en a qui regardent les dispositions Testamentaires dudit Evêque, dont le Sieur Morice est uniquement chargé, et qui font partie des Biens dont il est le Legataire universel.

"Il a déjà eu l'honneur de présenter un Mémoire à Monsieur Le Garde des Sceaux, touchant ces Papiers, dans lequel il est marqué plus particulierement la nature, et l'état de ces Papiers, et l'intention qu'il avoit luy

même d'en faire la disposition, et l'usage, que l'honneur, la droiture, la bonne politique, et même le vray intérest du Chevalier de Saint George, exigeoint de luy.

" La disposition que le Sieur Morice se proposoit d'en faire, et qui est parfaittement conforme, tant aux intentions du feu Evêque, qu'aux intérests de touttes les personnes interessées, etoit, après avoir fait l'examen, et l'inspection nécessaire, pour les distinguer, et pour en bien connôitre la nature, (et cela devant une personne nommée pour cet effet) 1°. de remettre touttes les lettres, et tous les papiers, qui pourroient regarder la personne, et le service du Chevalier de Saint George, entre les mains de la personne dont on étoit convenu pour cet effet. 2°. de jetter au feu toutes les lettres et papiers qui regardent les correspondances que ledit Evesque pouvoit avoir avec ses amis en Angleterre et ailleurs: Lettres qui pourroient devenir très préjudiciables à ceux qui les ont écrites, à cause de la déffense portée par la Loy *de l'Exil* dudit Evêque pour tous les Sujets de la Grande Bretagne, d'avoir avec luy aucun Commerce ou Correspondance, de quelque nature que ce fut. 3°. Pour tous les autres papiers qui concernent les biens ou les affaires du dit Evêque, ou du Sieur Morice, il a crû qu'on les luy livreroit entre les mains pour les avoir en sa possession, comme luy appartenant uniquement. Ce que le Sieur Morice demandoit étoit si raisonable, si juste, et si eloigné de porter préjudice à qui que ce fut, qu'il se flattoit que Monsieur Le Garde des Sceaux luy auroit accordé un ordre pour la prompte exécution de ce qu'il demandoit, et de ce que Vôtre Eminence sembloit avoir aprouvé lorsque Monsieur Bulkeley eut l'honneur de l'en entretenir.

" Cependant l'ordre que Monsieur le Garde des Sceaux a donné à ce sujet, porte que tous les papiers qui regardent les affaires particulieres et domestiques du feu Evêque seront livrés au Sieur Morice, et que tous les autres

(sans distinguer ceux qui concernent le service du Chevalier de Saint George, d'avec ceux qui regardent la correspondance que l'Evesque pouvoit avoir avec ses amis) seront remis sous le Scellé, et resteront en depôt audit Collége des Ecossois. Quelles allarmes et quelles inquietudes, cet ordre ne peut-il pas causer aux personnes de la première distinction en Angleterre ? Il pourra leur sembler contraire à toutes les regles de l'equité, et de la prudence, et produire de la mefiance entre le Chevalier de St. George, et ceux qui sont les plus attachés à ses interests, et les plus capables de les faire valoir ?

" Dans l'exécution même de cet ordre, le sieur Morice se plaint qu'on luy a fait un tort manifeste, et qu'on a mal entendu l'intention, et l'esprit de cet ordre. Car quoy qu'il y soit expressément dit, que tous les papiers qui intéressent la Famille dudit Evêque seront rendus au Sieur Morice, le Commissaire a refusé de luy livrer un gros paquet, qui ne regarde plus aujourd'huy que l'honneur de sa mémoire (et par conséquent sa famille) et qui consiste dans les pièces faites et prononcées par le dit Evêque devant le tribunal de la Chambre des Pairs, lors qu'il avoit à se justifier des crimes qu'on luy avoit faussement imputés. Qu'y-a-t-il au monde de plus personnel au feu Evêque, et de plus intéressant pour sa famille que ces pièces ?

" Le Sieur Morice ose se flatter que Vôtre Eminence aura la bonté d'écouter ses très humbles remontrances, et qu'elle enjoindra à Mr. Le Lieutenant de Police, de donner ses ordres au Commissaire, pour que le dit paquet, et tous les autres papiers qui concernent les affaires domestiques, et personnelles du feu Evêque, ou les interests du sieur Morice, luy soient tous remis sans aucun délay, ayant des affaires pressantes qui le rapellent en Angleterre."

On the 24th of March, O'Brien wrote two letters to Rome, one written at Paris in the early part of the day, and the

other " à Versaille ce lundi au soir." In the first he states that he had seen M. Chauvelin, who had informed him that " le Mareshal de Berwick avoit esté chez luy pour luy parlez en faveur de Mr. Morice affin de luy faire rendre tous les Papiers de feu Mr. levesque de Rochester qui estoient depuis peu mis en despost au College Ecossois," and then gives an account of his conversation with the French Minister and the arrangement that had been agreed upon between them, by which O'Brien waited on the Duke with whom he had a long interview on this subject and an account of which is given. In the course of this day however, (the 24th) he appears to have been summoned to Versailles by M. Chauvelin, from which place he dates the second letter, and in which he more particularly informs James that " laffaire pour laquelle Silvester [M. Chauvelin] mavoit mandé a Versaille estoit au sujet des nouvelles solicitations que Julien [Le Duc de Berwick] luy avoit faitte aussy bien quau 1083 [Le Cardinal de Fleury] pour que lon remit a Mr. Morice tous les Papiers qui regardoient, soit luy ou sa famille, et que lon brulat sur le champ tout le reste hors ceux qui pouvoient apartenir directement a 106 [Le Roy], et que Mr. Dicconson fut chargez conjointement avec Mr. Morice du triage des dits papiers en presence de Mr. Herauld;* et cela sans faire auquune mention de Gilbert [O'Brien].

" Je trouvay Silvester peu disposez a faire ceque Julien desiroit; et enfin nous convinmes que jyrois sur le champ trouver 132 [Le Duc de Berwick] et que je luy dirois que puisquil trouve quelque objection que je fusse present a louverture du scellez, je men desistois, estant bien persuadé que Mr. Dicconson sen aquiteroit aussy bien que moy, mais que je croyois que lon pouvoit commencer par remettre a Mr. Morice le Testament, largent, et les autres Papiers de famille qui pouvoient le regarder, et faire sur le

* The Lieutenant de Police.

champs remettre le scellez sur le reste des papiers, jusqua ceque lon eut reçeus de nouveaux ordres de David [Le Roy]. Je fus, en sortant de chez Silvester, chez Julien, aqui je parlay en consequense de ce dont jestois convenus avec 302 [M. Chauvelin]. Il ne men parut fort content et me dit froidement, quil ne sen mesloit que parcequil croyoit quil estoit de linterest du Roy, que toutes les corespondances de levesque en engletere fussent brulez, affin de tranquiliser les esprist en ce pays là, et que je devois bien scavoir que depuis longtemps 163 [les amis du Roy en Angleterre] avoient toujour cru que cequils escrivoient nestoit point en seureté, ajoutant quil estoit pourtant bien persuadé que cestoit sans fondement, mais quil falloit contenter les esprist, et que Mr. Morice surtout estoit un homme quil falloit menager. Croyez vous Monsieur luy disje que des secrets de cette nature seroient plus en seureté entre les mains de Mr. Morice qui ne sest peutestre pas couchez depuis dix ans sobres, que destre entre les mains de David? [Le Roy]. Je ne dis pas, dit il, que ces papiers ne seroient pas tres bien entre les mains de David, mais jynsiste, ajouta il, que lon feroit encore mieux de les bruler, et si lon ne le fait pas dabord, a cause du temps quil faudra employer pour trier les dits Papiers, je demanderay au moins, que Mr. Herauld promette a Mr. Morice de les faire bruller en sa presence avant quil parte. A cela Monsieur luy disje, la Cour en usera tout comme elle le jugera apropos; pour moy, il me suffit de mestre conformé, autant quil ma esté possible, aux ordres que jay reçeu du Roy."

He reported the whole of this conversation, and a great deal more which then took place between the Duke and himself, to M. Chauvelin, who, he adds, "me donna ensuitte rendez-vous chez 1083 [Le Cardinal de Fleury]; ou ils conclurent, moy present, que lon ouvriroit le scellez des Papiers qui sont chez Mr. Inness, en presence de

Mr. Morice et de Mr. Dicconson; que lon delivreroit a Mr. Morice seulement les papiers qui pouvoient le regarder personnellement ou la famille; quensuitte le Comissaire remettroit, comme doffice, le scellez, jusqua nouvel ordre. Par cette voye me dit Silvester, lon eludera la proposition de Julien, et nous resterons maistre des dits papiers, que nous pourons, par la suitte du temps, vous livrer. Simon Brown [Le Cardinal de Fleury] aprouva cet arangement, et ordonna a M. Chauvelin, de fair expedier un ordre a Mr. Herauld, de faire executer la chose ainsy que lon venoit den convenir."

In his next letter (March 31, 1732), after referring to the one he wrote from Versailles, he proceeds to inform the Chevalier that "les ordres ont esté donné a Mr. Herauld conforme a ce dont lon estoit convenus avec Gilbert [O'Brien himself] affinque lon remit seulement a Mr. Morice les Papiers qui pouvoient regarder la famille; mais comme il nest pas content de cette decision, dont il est seulement informé depuis deux jours, il est allez a Versaille acompagné de son amy Mr. Lloyd, pour engager Mr. Le Marechal de Berwick a soliciter de nouveau les Ministres pour que lon luy remette tous les dits Papiers; mais je me flatte que la Cour ne changera rien aux ordres quelle a desja donné sur ce sujet. Je regarde comme une chose essentielle pour le service de David [Le Roy], que non seulement il soit maistre des dits papiers, mais mesme quil paroisse que Mr. Morice, avec ses protecteurs, ne puisse pas avoir le dessus dans cette affaire, quils ont crû emporter avec tant de hauteur. Je ne neglige rien pour faire sans bruit averter leurs pretentions. 106 [Le Roy] trouvera cy joint une lettre que jay escritte hier a Mr. Le G[arde] des Sceaux pour empecher que quelques nouvelles solicitations de Julien, nengage la Cour a se relacher sur les ordres quelle a desja donné a Mr. Herauld. Jenvois dautant plus volontiers cette lettre a 231 [votre Majesté] quelle

y vera quelques traits de la conduitte de Mr. Morice, qui ne merite acequil me semble, que tres peu de menagement."

A Copy of the above-mentioned Letter to the Garde des Sceaux still exists, and as it is so particularly referred to by O'Brien, its production may here be considered necessary in order to render the history of this affair as complete as the existing Documents will permit. It is entirely in O'Brien's hand-writing, who describes it as a

COPIE DE MA LETTRE A MR. LE GARDE DES SCEAUX DU 30. MARS, 1732.

" MONSEIGNEUR,

" En arrivant icy jay apris que Mr. Morice, Gendre du deffund evesque de Rochester, estoit partis pour se rendre a Versaille, affin dengager Mr. Le Marechal de Berwick de soliciter de nouveau en sa faveur, pour luy faire delivrer tous les Papiers du dit evesque.

" Je vous suplie tres humblement, Monseigneur, de vouloir bien ne rien changer aux ordres que vous avez trouvé bon de donner desja a Mr. Herauld sur ce sujet; car, outre les raisons que jay desja eu lhonneur de vous expliquer, il y en a de nouvelles qui doivent determiner a ne pas confier le moindre Papier a Mr. Morice.

" Premierement, Il sest mariez la vielle de son depart de Londre, a une fille dune famille Whig, aqui il est entierement livrez; en 2^e^. lieu, il voit souvent My lord Walgrave [Waldegrave], et mesme dans le cour de la derniere semaine, il a esté deux fois enfermé tres longtemps avec luy; en 3^e^ lieu, il a enmenir avec luy icy un de ces freres, qui est Capitaine dans les Troupes Angloises et fort attachez au Gouvernement, lequel seroit tres aise de se nantir de quelques Papiers, par ou il pouroit faire sa cour aux Ministres.

Une autre raison plus forte encore acequil me semble, que toutes les autres, cest que Mr. Morice a dit depuis quelques jours a un de ses amis, qui men a informé dans le moment, (cest au Chevalier Maclain que Mr. Morice a parlé ainsy) que si par le moyen de Mr. Le Marechal de Berwick, il nobtenoit pas tous les Papiers du deffund evesquè, il remettroit tous ces interest entre les mains de My lord Waldgrave, avec liberté de faire des dits Papiers tout ce quil voudroit, pourvueu quil puisse par son credit les tirer dou ils sont.

" Quoyque je sois bien persuadé, Monseigneur, que vous ne changerez rien a la disposition desja faitte touchant les dits Papiers, jay cru que, vu ces circonstances nouvelles, vous ne trouveriez pas mauvais, que jeus lhonneur de vous faire de nouveau, mes tres humbles remontrances la dessus."

Mr. Inese's next Letter bears the same date with O'Brien's last-mentioned communication to the Chevalier (March 31, 1732). In it he notices Mr. Morice's Memorial, and the efforts this Gentleman was still making, through the intervention of the Duke of Berwick to accelerate the delivery of the Bishop's Papers. He therein tells James :—" When I had the honour by last post, to write to your Majesty, I was in hopes that the affaire about the Bishop of Rochesters papers would have been, one way or other, finished last week; but new difficulties ariseing, the matter is yet under debate.

" It had been resolved from the beginning by Mr. Morice and his associates, that to exclude Colonel O'Bryen, I should be the person who should open the boxes and separat the papers when the matter should be agreed upon. But a certain person objecting that he had long known me to be too blindly devoted to every thing that would please your Majesty, and consequently too much a party, they resolved that M. Dicconson should be the person. I could not but very much approve of this choice, being well

assured that he will be as firm and zeallous as I could have been in following your Majestys intentions.

"M. Morice and M. Floyd displeased with the Courts former orders, went again last week to Versailles and gott the Duke of Berwick to speak once more in their favours to the Cardinal and Garde des Sceaux: but what Colonel O'Bryen represented, makeing more impression on the Ministers, it was resolved that ther should be only taken owt of the boxes the Bishops Testament, some peeces of plate and jewells, and such papers only as related to familly concerns: after which, that the boxes, with all the other papers, should be again sealld up by the Commissary, and remain in our Archives, wher they are, till further orders. When M. Morice and M. Floyd (who were gone back to Paris) heard of this order they were more incensed than ever, and returned yesterday to Versailles with a long Petition containing all their grievances, insisting particularly that the letters and papers relateing to the Bishops privat corespondence in England, should be burnt, it being fellony to have coresponded with him since his banishment. I own, I could wish this last part were granted, to avoid the clamour may be raised in England if it be refused. Wee shall I beleeve, know tomorrow, what answer the Court has given."

These efforts of Mr. Morice and his friends were, to a certain extent, successful; in as much as they obtained for him all such portions of the Bishop's Papers that did not, in Mr. Dicconson's opinion, by whom the separation was made, relate in any way to the Chevalier's affairs. These, the French Ministers, who appear to have been guided throughout the whole affair by Colonel O'Brien, allowed to be given up, with the exception only of one bundle relating to the Bishop's Trial, which, also at O'Brien's request, was retained. When this separation and delivery were accomplished, Mr. Inese despatched the following Letter to the Chevalier.

MR. INESE TO JAMES.

"SIR,

"The affaire relateing to the late Bishop of Rochesters papers is now as good as ended, ther remaining now in debate only one bundle of papers containing the particulars of the Bishops Tryall and prosecution, which the Commissary would not consent to be given to M. Morice without a new order from Court.

"At M. Morice's desire, M. Dicconson was appointed by the Court to inspect and make the separation of the papers, and accordingly he came with the Commissary, M. Morice, and M. Floyd, on Thursday and Friday last, to the Colledge; and M. Dicconson separated all your Majesties letters, and what other papers relate to your service, and putt them all together into a box by themselves, which was immediately sealld up by the Commissary. The Duke of Ormonds and Earl of Marshalls letters were putt up in another box, which was also sealld up by the same Commissary. All the other papers and letters which M. Dicconson judged to have no relation to your Majesties service, were by him delliverd to M. Morice to be burnt. And the two boxes with your Majesties letters, and those of the Duke of Ormond and Earl Marshall were deposited by the Commissary, in our College till further orders. M. Dicconson will, no doubt, give your Majesty a more particular account of the papers themselves than I can, he allone haveing inspected the outside or etiquets of all of them, for none of the papers were lookd into nor unfolded.

"As this matter has been managed and concluded, M. Morice can have no just reason, nor indeed any plausible pretext, to complean or make a noise, as he threatend he would, when he returnd to England; alltho being a hott passionat man, he be little to be relyd on. But when

the Lady,* who is dayly expected, comes, I hope Colonel O'Bryen will inform her so well of the wholl matter, that by her letters to her friends, any noise Mr. Morice may make, will signify nothing.

"I wish your Majesty and all the Royall Familly a large share in all the blessings of the approching Feasts; and am ever with most dutifull and most profound respect and veneration,

Sir,

Your Majesties most humble most obedient
and most faithfull Subject and old Servant,

L. Inese."

Paris, 7th Apryll, 1732.

But notwithstanding this partial success, Mr. Morice was very far from being satisfied with the result of his exertions. On the very day that Mr. Inese forwarded the above communication to James, Mr. Morice himself addressed the following Letter to Lord Sempill, requesting his intercession with the Chevalier to procure the restitution of all other Papers which could in no way relate to James' service. Of this letter the original, which was, unquestionably, transmitted to Rome by Lord Sempill, has not been found; but a copy only of it exists in Edgar's handwriting, who has himself stated it to be a

Copy of Mr. Morice's Letter to Lord Sempill. The Original layd before the King by Lord Mareschal.

"My Lord, *Paris, April* 7, 1732.

"As you were present at opening the late Bishop of Rochester's Papers, you know that there are several belonging to him, and by Executorship to me, detain'd still

* The Duchess of Buckingham.

in the Scotch College against my will, and are now under the King of France's scellé there. Among them are many copies of letters, &c. in the Bishop's own hand-writing and in mine. These Papers undoubtedly belong to me, and I cannot be easy at having them kept from me; and as the scellé will not, I find, be taken off or the said Papers be given to me, without orders from a certain great Person at Rome, to whom I cannot in my present situation make application, I must, my Lord, desire that in your next letter to Lord Marischal, you would beg him, in my behalf, to speak to that great Person: letting it be known that I humbly hope for so much justice, as to have all Papers in the Bishop's hand-writing or mine, delivered up to me, without being look'd into by any person whatsoever. The Bishop was sure of my never making an ill use of his Papers, and for that reason left the sole care of them to me; and I hope my conduct has never been such as to cause anybody else [to] mistrust me. When you receive an answer from Lord Mareschal, which I hope will be soon, you'll please to communicate it to me.

I am,

My Lord, your obedient humble Servant,

Wm. Morice.

"P. S. The Copies of Letters I mean, are of *the Bishop's own Letters* to various people."

We have seen that Inese in his last letter (that of April 7), expresses his belief that Mr. Dicconson would forward to the Chevalier an account of the separation he had made of the Papers and the other proceedings had in reference to them. This he did, and his letter to James is now in the Collection; together with one he wrote on the same day (April 6) from St. Germains to O'Brien, giving him full particulars of the proceedings. Both these letters are here given.

MR. DICCONSON TO JAMES.

Apr. 6th, 1732.

" I take the liberty to acquaint your Majesty that after two journeys to Paris about visiting and seperating the Bishop of Rochesters papers, I have at last executed to the best of my understanding, what the Court orderd; and that I might be better informed of your Majestys intentions therein, I went to Colonel O'Brien immediately upon my arrival, who told me I was to give Mr. Morice all papers and letters relating to his Family, but that all letters or papers that related to your Majestys business, should be put back under the Scelé and left at the Scotch College. Accordingly on Thorday and Fryday last, Mr. Morice and I, in the presence of Mr. Inness and the Commissary, visited all his papers; and we put back to the Scelé all your Majestys letters to him and the copie of his letters to your Majesty, all the cyphers, my Lord Invernesses letters, my Lord Dunbars, Colonel O'Briens, Mr. Fosters, or any other persons about your Majesty. The Duke of Ormonds letters and my Lord Marshalls, we tyd in seperate packets, and put them back likewise under the Scelé; for tho' Mr. Morice prayd mightely to have them burnt, yet Colonel O'Brien haveing told me none were to be burnt till your Majestys pleasure was known, I did not consent to it. As for all other letters of private correspondance about his affairs, letters of civility, or about literature, of which sort there were a great many from persons of learning, Religious men, and others, I did not apprehend could be of any use or consequence to your Majesty, so left them to Mr. Morice, as monuments of the Bishops great knolidg in what they call les belles lettres, criticisme &c. But ammongst the rest there was

a larg packett of papers relateing to his Tryal before the house of Lords, as speeches, memoirs, &c. This both I, and all present, doubted not but ought to be given to Mr. Morice as a monument in the Family, and that it could be of no use to your Majesty, it being long ago in print: but the Commissary, it seems, opposed it; upon which Mr. Morice was extreamly dissatisfyd. Wee did what we could to appeas him, and I went with him the next day to Monsieur Heraut, in hopes to perswade him to give it up; but he refused, till he had spoke to the Guard de Sceau, who I presume, will order it to be given to Mr. Morice, but if it is not, its hoped your Majesty will not refuse it him. Mr. Morice also beggs your Majesty will pleas to order that the Duke of Ormondes and my Lord Mareshalls letters may be burnt, because Mr. Morice says, his honour is engaged that they should not be seen.

" I found no letters from England, but some from an attorney or others about a law sute, or mony matters; and have been told, that all letters he receved from England relateing to business or politick, he always burnt.

" In fine, there has been a great deal of trouble, and even expence, occasioned by this proceeding; and Mr. Morice thereby has been extreamly vexed, and put out of humour, complaining he is hardly dealt with all, and in an arbitrary manner, not used in England, as he says: but by Mr. LLoyds help, the only person that has credit with him, I hope he will be so pacifyd (in case he getts the packet of the tryall &c.) as not to make any complaint, at least that may reflect upon your Majesty, at his return to England.

I know Colonel O'Brien seems to put no great value on the friendship or to apprehend the enmity of such a man; but I fancy the complaints of a less man than he, has done much mischeif: beside (with submission to better judgments) I cannot but think that the memory of so great a man as the Bishop was, and even Mr. Morices loyall com-

portment all along, deserves a consideration; besides he was all along entrusted in most things by the Bishop, and many letters and copies are under his hand.

"I must also beg leave to add one word in reference to Mr. LLoyd, who apprehends he may, perhaps, be misrepresented to your Majesty as medling in a matter which no way concernd him; but I can assure your Majesty that what he has done, was more at my sollicitation than of his own inclination, for he was as uneasy as myself to the full, and as desirous to return to St. Germains: he even refused the first day, to go along with us, but at my request he came with us the second day; for otherwise I apprehended we should never finish, he alone being able to prevent Mr. Morice's flying out (which by his natural temper he is extremely inclined too) and going back full of complaints and dissatisfaction; so that in reality, what Mr. LLoyd has acted in this matter, was purely intended by him for your Majestys service, and in effect was so, as I found on all occasions of dispute or difference.

"I must mention one thing wherein we went contrary to Colonel O'Briens direction, which I hope your Majesty will excuse. It seems amongst the Cyphers, there was one very fair copie in Mr. Morice's own hand writeing: this he beggd earnesly might be burnt, because there was a copie of the same, amongst those that were put back under the Scelé, and he sayd it might, possably, fall into hands that might make use of it to his prejudice. Mr. Inness and I had great difficulty to consent, but considering his reasons, agreed to it at last, and we did it privetly when the other persons were gon, so that no liveing soul knows of it but we three.

"I humbly beg your Majestys pardon for sending a letter so full of blots and corrections, but the obligations of

the day, being Palm Sonday, scarce alowd me time to write, even in the manner I have done.

W. Dicconson."

Mr. Dicconson to Colonel O'Brien.

St. Germains, Apr. 6, 1732.

" Sir,

" Being obliged to return to St. Germains assoon as possibly I could, by reason of this holy time, I could not give you an account of what had been done about the Bishops papers, it being betwixt six and seaven a clock at night before we had done, and I was afterwards to return hither. Mr. Inness, to be sure, will give you an account of all, he haveing given himself the trouble to be by, all the time. There is only one thing that he is not apprized off, tho my Lord Sample, to be sure, will acquaint him, which is, that after wee had done at the Scotch College, Mr. Morice was very earnest to have that packet of papers about the Bishops Tryall, together with his mariage settlement; which not only I, but all present (except the Commissary) thought he ought to have. He pressd me therefore to write a letter to Monsieur Heraut to that effect, which I did; but he was not satisfyd with that, but finding me in the street as he was going to Monsieur Heraut, pressed me to go with him; so I did. But tho' I spoke to him, Monsieur Heraut, and afterwards the Commissary gave him my letter, yet he persisted to refuse giveing Mr. Morice those papers till he had spoke to the Guard de Sceau. Now in as much as certainly these papers can be of no use to any one (the Tryal being in print) but only an honorable memorandum of the Bishops eloquence &c. under his own hand, I cannot but beg of you that you will contribute what lys in you, to have those papers given to Mr. Morice; not

so much for Mr. Morices sake, as for the Kings; for Mr. Morice would make a terible out cry of unreasonable arbitrary usage which would ly at the Kings door, and be extreamly prejudicial to the opinion people ought to have of his Majesty: for though you may put no great value upon Mr. Morices friendship, yet you cannot, I am sure, but be sensible he may do mischife if he is exasperated, which therefore ought to be avoided, if possible it can.

" I forgot to tell you that, when I went from you to Monsieur Heraut with your letter, he was gon out, so I could have [no] instructions from him; but I was much surprized when I was with him, (as I have mentiond) that he seemd not satisfyd that I had left with Mr. Morice, the Bishops letters about litterature &c. of which sort of correspondance he had a great deal with Religious men and others; which letters are agreable to his relations to keep as a testimony of the Bishops learning, and can certainly signify nothing either to the King or any one els.

" In fine, Sir, I leave all to your prudence. I only tell you my opinion, and am most sincerely

SIR,
Your most humble and
Most obedient Servant,
W. DICCONSON."

The day following the date of the above, O'Brien wrote two letters to Rome, — one mentioning the subject of the Bishop's Papers only incidentally; the other entirely occupied with reflections on the negociations that had taken place on the subject of their restitution and the conduct of Mr. Morice. In the first he observes, " Je regarde laffaire des Papiers du feu evesque de Rochester comme terminé. Mr. Dicconson a assisté a louverture du Scellez, et le Comissaire avoit ordre de ne rendre a Mr. Morice que les Papiers de famille que Mr. Dicconson indiqueroit. Jay pourtant apris que ce dernier

sestoit un peu relachez, ayant rendus quelques letres particulieres, comme celles de Mr. Floyd [Lloyd] qui les a demandé avec instances. Lon a remis le scellez sur le reste dont David [Le Roy] sera le maitre quand il voudra en disposer. La Cour a fait en cecy tout ce que Gilbert [O'Brien] a pu desirer." In the second, which more particularly had reference to Mr. Dicconson's letter, which he forwarded with it to Rome, he says, "La façon dont Mr. Morice sest conduit dans toute cette affaire et les discours peu mesurez quil a tenus, mengage a navoir auquune egard a sa demande jusqua ceque je reçoive de nouveaux ordres de 106 [Le Roy.] Mr. Herauld et le Comissaire trouvent mesme que Mr. Dicconson ne sest desja que trop relachéz en remettant a Mr. Morice, beaucoup de lettres quil nauroit pas du faire; mais surement cequil en a fait na este qua bonnes intentions. Quant au Proces de levesque dont il parle, je scay que Morice ne le demande que pour le donner au Sieur Sakel* affin dele faire imprimer, contant le recompenser par là, de toutes les peines quil sest donné en enlevant les Papiers de levesque. Et comme surement, ce Procés, redigé par levesque et remplis de reflections satirique contre Pultney, qui estoit pour lors le chef du Comité qui lexaminoit, je ne scay sil convient dans cette conjoncture, de rendre la chose si publique. Ainsi il semble quil vaut encore mieux en rester le maistre pour en faire par la suitte, lusage que David [Le Roy] ordonnera.

"Quant a la colere de Mr. Morice, je la crois peu dangereuse pour les interest de 231 [Votre Majesté]; aureste ce nest que de moy seul dont il peut se plaindre; et tout le monde sçait bien que 106 [Le Roy] napas eu le temps de menvoyer de nouveaux ordres sur ce sujet."

James appears to have forwarded on the 2d of April, some new instructions to O'Brien concerning these Papers, as the latter acknowledges their receipt on the 21st. of the

* Mr. Salkeld.

samé month, when he tells the Chevalier, "comme laffaire des Papiers de levesque est desja terminée, le nouvel ordre que votre Majesté menvoit sur ce sujet, devient a present inutille. Le tout se seroit passez a la satisfaction de David [Le Roy] si Mr. Dicconson ne sestoit relaché sur les instructions que je luy avois donné sur cette matiere; car la cour de France ayant fait en cela, tout ce que jay desirez, je ne puis me plaindre que de Mr. De Dicconson qui na pas sentis linconvenient qu'il y avoit a sé pretter a beaucoup de choses que Mr. Morice a exigé de luy: ainsy il ne nous reste plus rien a faire apresent sur ce sujet, que dexecuter ce que 231 [votre Majesté] ordonne au sujet des Papiers qui restent en despost au College Ecossois, dont ceux de Francis [Earl Marischal] sont du nombre a ceque massure Mr. Inness. Jatendray le despart de Mr. Morice pour faire de nouveau ouvrier le Scellez; ensuitte jexamineray avec Mr. Inness, tout cequi reste dans le dit coffre, et surtout les lettres de Lord Marischal et de Zechy Hamilton, dont jenvoyeray un extrait a 106 [Le Roy]. Quant au Lord Simpil, jay tout lieu de croyre que, de concert avec Sakel, il sest hantis des principaux Papiers, avant que de remettre le despost au Colege Ecossois, pour les rendre ensuitte a Mr. Morice, affin den obtenir quelques gratifications."

The Chevalier replied on the 28th of April to M. Inese's letters of the 7th of that month, and a previous one dated March 31: and excused himself for so long a delay, by observing that he had waited to be informed of the decision of the Bishop of Rochester's Papers. This information was conveyed to him in Mr. Dicconson's communication of the 6th of April, and in the present letter he tells Mr. Inese "By what Mr. Dicconson writes to me, I think he has made a very just division of those Papers; and I approve of the burning of the Cypher, which is mentioned. The Duke of Ormonde and Lord Marischal shall be in-

formed that their letters are safe; and I suppose the French Court will have no difficulty in allowing them to be burn'd or deliver'd to whom they please, as they may direct. On the whole, I am glad this affair is ended in the way it has; for I think, in this manner, no body has any just reason to complain, except on the particular of the papers about the Bishop's Tryal, which no doubt belong to his heirs; tho' with all that, I should be very sorry they were published just at this time. But whenever my motives for that subsist no more, I shall be ready to interpose with the Court of France, that they may be deliver'd up, if they are not already. What is here said, I desire may serve both for Mr. Dicconson and yourself on those subjects; with all that is kind to Mr. Dicconson in my name, having a good deal of business on my hands at this time."

"I have also received a long letter from Lord Sempill on these matters, which I dont much care to answer directly. It will be sufficient that you tell him that I have received it; and that tho' it is true that I did not approve his conduct in the beginning of this Affair, yet that I am well persuaded of his loyalty and zeal for the good Cause; and that he may be at ease on these matters. I cannot but add here for yourself, that I think he might have spared a complaint against Colonel O'Bryen, in an affair where he was not quite blameless himself."

The next mention of Mr. Morice and the Bishop's Papers occurs in another of Mr. Dicconson's letters to James dated April 20, 1732. The question at this time seems to have resolved itself into the consideration of that particular portion of them which related exclusively to the Bishop's Trial, and which it appears that the French Government, at O'Brien's representation, refused to give up. On this Mr. Dicconson observes:—

"As to Mr. Morice, I doubt not but your Majesty has, ere this, given your orders in reference to the packett of

papers which he is in pain about, and concerning which he gave yesterday, a Memorial to the Cardinal de Fleury, and comeing hither the last night, left a coppie thereof with me which I presume to send your Majesty, which expresses so fully what he desires, that it needs no further explanation. I only presume to acquaint your Majesty, that he thinks himself extream hardly dealt withall, being he cannot immagin any reason why those papers, that relate to the Bishop's Tryal should be kept from him; yet upon that account he has been kept here much longer, and is forced to go back in all probability, re infecta, (for it is not likely he'l get an answer to his petition so soon) for he tells me that he sends away the Bishop's body on Thorsday next, and must follow himself two days after, to be ready to re-receive it at its arrival in London: so he says he must be forced to return to France for these papers, to the great detriment of his affairs, as well as a very great augmentation of expence.

"All I could say was, to assure him I was confident, if your Majesty had been rightly apprized of that matter at first, it would not have so happened; but that Colonel O'Brien haveing had (I presumed) a general order to secure such papers as should be conceived to relate to your Majestys affairs, and that packet (by the Commissary's misunderstanding things) being so reputed, that I fancyd Colonel O'Brien did not think himself authorized to deliver it, till he had your Majestys orders so to do.

"In fine, I hope your Majesty will not be offended, if I presume to suggest my sentiments, which if they are impertinent or improper, I confide it your Majestys goodness that you'l please to pardon 'em, since no other motive but the zeal I have for your service prompts me to it. I therefore most humbly begg that your Majesty would pleas to write such a letter, either to himself or to some other person to be shewn him, as might reasonably

pacify him upon this head, and he shew that your Majesty has a due sense of his and his familys service, a real esteem of his person, and not the least mistrust of his ever wavering in those principles which, I am persuaded he is not, of himself, inclined to vary in, in the main, (tho his thinking himself ill used may force from him harsh expressions sometimes); for thô some persons may, perhaps, make no great account of such a man's friendshipp, yet certainly the enmity of a much less man, may be feard, in your Majestys circumstances, and especially the imputation of not being grateful for past services. For

"In the first place he will say, that if your Majesty were upon the throne, such papers as only relate to the family, could not be detained from him by the laws of England, and that a certain arbitrary method has been made use of to do it, which would not sound well in that country.

2dly, His personal services and sufferings seem to merit a consideration; for he and his brother have been all along maligned by the Government in England, for their affection to your Majestys cause, and he forced to sell his imployment on that account, which he foresaw would otherwise have been taken from him.

3dly, The trust the Bishop put in him, many letters and cyphers being writt or coppyd by him, and he being privy to almost all the Bishop's transactions.

"And lastly, it is not unworthy your Majestys notice, that it is very well known, and my Lord Clarendon mentions it particularly in his history, that one Mr. Morice was the first man that proposed to General Monk to send to the King, and having induced him to it, the General ordered Sir John Granville who he pitched upon for that great affaire, to receive his instructions from the said Mr. Morice, who was great unkle to this Mr. Morice, viz: his grandfather's younger brother. That service,

(thô now of an old date) together with the continued loyalty of the family, does certainly merite a consideration. That Mr. Morice was (I think) made Secretary of State after the restoration, in recompence of his service; and therefore this Mr. Morice (I am perswaded) your Majesty will think worthy of being at least so managed, as not to have any just cause given him of complaint.

I most humbly beg pardon for the liberty I take to mention my thoughts herein; for I think it my duty to suggest anything I conceive may be for your Majestys service; which your Majesty may make use of or reject, as in your Majesty's great wisdome may be thought proper.

W. Dicconson."

The Chevalier mentions the receipt of this letter in one he forwarded to Mr. Inese on the 7th of May; and being thus on the affair of the Bishop's Papers, he proceeds to say "you will, I suppose, let him (Mr. Morice) know what I writ to you last week relating to the Papers about the Tryal which, with what I formerly writ for him to you, must please and satisfy him, without he be resolved to remain unsatisfyed: though on the whole I think he has much more reason to be pleased with me, than I have to be it with him. But this to yourself."

"I beleive you will receive this post, a letter from Lord Marischal about the consigning to Lord Edward Drummond, his letters which remain amongst the Bishop's Papers. I write about that matter to Col. O'Bryen, that he may obtain the Garde des Sceaux order in conformity to what Lord Marischal writes to you: but otherways Colonel O'Bryen will not, to be sure, appear in the matter; for the less he and I meddle, publickly, in these Affairs the better. You will communicate this letter to Col. O'Bryen; and you will acquaint Mr. Dicconson, with what I writ formerly to

you, and again last post, on Mr. Morice's subject, in letting him know my having received his letter of the 20th April, and that I take kindly of him what he therein represents to me and informs me of."

There are other letters of James to Mr. Inese dated June 3, June 9, and July 9, 1732; in all of which some mention is made either of Mr. Morice or the Papers: but not of sufficient consequence to render any particular extract necessary. The whole Affair seems to have slept till November 1733, when Mr. Inese wrote the following letter to the Chevalier, giving an account of the final removal of the Scellé, and the distribution of that portion of the Bishop's Papers which were still in his custody; and which were not considered to relate so exclusively to James or his affairs, as to give him any claim to their possession.

Mr. Inese to James.

"Sir,

I can at present give Your Majesty some account of the late Bishop of Rochester's Papers. After severall delays, the order came at last from this Court, directed to the Commissary who had sealld them up, to take off the scellée, and delliver the Papers to the persons concernd; which he did accordingly the 17th of this month, in the following manner. 1° A large Bundle containing the Papers relateing to the Bishop's Tryall, given to M. Sachell who had a procuration for receiving them. 2° A Bundle of the Duke of Ormonde's letters, given to Sir Edmond [Redmond] Everard, who had that Duke's order for receiving them. 3° A Bundle of Lord Marshall's letters given to Lord Sempill, who had Lord Marshall's orders for receiving them and giving them afterwards to Lord Ed. Drummond. 4° The Papers that had been sett apart for Your Majesty by M. Dicconson at the first opening of them, before they were

sealld up by the Commissary. These, I say, were deliver-ed to me in pursuance of Your Majesty's order of 9 June 1732, directed to me. There are in all, of these Papers 16 Bundles, of which Your Majesty will find a particular Liste here inclosed. It appears that many of these bundles had been made up by the Bishop himself; they being markd in his own hand, on a paper tied to each bundle. But ther are some bundles that seem to have been made up in a hurry by Mr. Dicconson; and these are not in any order. I found amongst them one bundle, almost entirely of the Duke of Ormonde's and Zechy Hamilton's letters from Spain, but I found none of Zechy's letters from Rome. This, Sir, is all the account I can give, in generall, of these Papers. I shall have a box made fitt for keeping them, seal'd up till your Majesties further orders.

I pray God to bless and preserve Your Majesty and all the Royall Family, and am for ever, with most profound and most dutifull veneration and respect,

Sir,

Your Majesties most humble
most obedient and most faithfull
Subject and old Servant

Paris 23d, November. 1733. L. INESE.

Of these Letters and Papers, the sixteen bundles set apart as belonging to the Chevalier, need only now claim our notice. A rough sketch or list of what they contained, accompanied Inese's letter to James; and by it we may perceive that, so far from being neglected by the Chevalier and those he employed (as is generally reported and believed) Atterbury was in full and constant communication with them till the period, it may be said, of his death; for the letters both of James and Lord Inverness, include the year 1731, as indicated by the bundle marked No. 8, and the Bishop died very early in March of the following year. A Copy of the List, as forwarded to Rome by Mr. Inese, is here given.

Liste of Papers sett apart for the King by Mr. Dicconson, owt of the late Bishop of Rochester's Papers, and now kept in the Scotts College of Paris, till His Majesties further orders. 17th November, 1733.

In all Sixteen Bundles.

1st Bundle. Letters from the King to the Bishop in 1723 and 1724.

2. — The King's Letters to the Bishop, from May 1724, till December, 1725.

3. — Lord Invernesses Letters to the Bishop in 1725.

4. — Lord Mar, Lord Lansdown, and M. Dillon's Letters to the Bishop in the years 1723, 1724, and 1725.

5. — The King, Queen, and Lord Invernesses Letters in 1726.

6. — The King, Lord Inverness, Lord Dunbar, and Sir John Graham's Letters to the Bishop in 1727.

7. — M. Foster's Letters to the Bishop in 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731.

8. — The King, Lord Inverness, Lord Dunbar, and M. Edgar's Letters to the Bishop in 1730 and 1731.

9. — Lord Inverness and Lord Dunbar's Letters to the Bishop from November, 1723, to December, 1724.

10. — The Duke of Ormonde and Zechy Hamilton's Letters to the Bishop in 1726, 1727, and 1728.

11. — Coppies and Minuts of the Bishop's Letters in 1724.

12. — Coppies of the Bishop's Letters in 1725.

13. — Coppies of the Bishop's Letters in 1726.

14. — Coppies of the Bishop's Letters in 1727.
15. — Coppies of the Bishop's Letters in 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, and 1732.
16. — A Bundle of Cyphers.

From the Letter which accompanied this list, it is evident that all the Papers relating to the Bishop's Trial, which Mr. Morice could not obtain when in France, were now delivered up to Mr. Salkeld. It was in reply to that Letter, and in reference particularly to these Papers of the Trial, that James, in one he wrote on the 15th of December, 1733, to Mr. Inese, observes, "I have received your letter of the 23d. of November with a list of Papers now in your hands and which formerly belonged to the Bishop of Rochester: But I remark that his Papers about his Tryal were given to Mr. Salkeld. I think I writ formerly to you about these last Papers, expressing my desire that nothing should be published at present on that affair; and there are, no doubt, very good reasons for it: so that if no precautions have been already taken towards these Papers being kept private, I wish you would speak to Colonel O'Bryen on the matter, and settle with him the the properest and most effectual method for that effect. I should think the shortest and most natural way, would be for you to tell Mr. Salkeld from me, that I wish that no publick use were made of those Papers, without my being first acquainted with it: it being, I think, not for my service that anything at present, should be published on those matters. But still I leave the management of this small affair to yours and Colonel O'Bryen's prudence."

"As to the Bishop's Papers in your custody: you will lay aside the Duke of Ormonde's and Zecky Hamilton's Letters, and dispose of them as the Duke of Ormonde shall direct, without looking into them: and I shall write by this post to the Duke of Ormonde accordingly. I remark that there are Copies of the Bishop's Letters for

several years, without its being specefyed to whom they were writ; you will therefore at your leisure, cast an eye upon them, to see of what nature they are; that if there are any with which I have nothing to do, they may be disposed of as may be found proper. You will give me a short and general account of these Letters when you have examined them, and in the mean time you will keep all these Papers, except the Duke of Ormonde's and Zechy Hamilton's Letters, in your custody till my further orders; and you will communicate this Letter to Colonel O'Bryen."

There seems to have been either some uneasiness or curiosity on the part of James, respecting the Correspondence of the Rev. Ezekiel Hamilton, who was, at one time, attached to his own household, and who had acted as Private Secretary to the Duke of Ormonde. Zechy was, apparently, a very testy and quarrelsome person; and whether from zeal for his Church and the Bishop's memory, or enmity to O'Brien, entered very keenly into the excitement occasioned by the latter's proceedings in this affair: and, not being aware of James's real views respecting these Papers, and thinking it impossible that O'Brien could have acted on any authority from Rome, he forwarded the following letter, which (as it eventually came into James's possession, and is now in the collection, was, probably, addressed to Mr. Edgar) detailing his opinion and feelings on the proceedings that had taken place respecting them.

•

"Dear Sir,

The attempt to seize the late Bishop of Rochester's Papers has already made so much noise, and will probably make so great an éclat in England, that as far as I can judge, all prudent measures are necessary to be taken to prevent the ill effects of it. Tho' I am persuaded that Daniel O'Bryan had no orders from his Majesty to take

that step, yet he will probably endeavour to skreen himself from the just reproaches of the King's friends, by trying, if possible, to get his Majesty's approbation of what he has done. One remark will be made by every body; that, considering the Bishop's character and the writings of every kind that he may be suppos'd to have had ready by him, and perhaps design'd for the press, Daniel O'Bryan was not a proper person to have them in his custody; and it is not probable that the Bishop wou'd have left them by will, to the care of a person for whom it is well known, he had no great regard.

"Perhaps it may be thought a piece of presumption in me, to offer my humble opinion in a case thô it may happen to be my own; but when I am fully convinc'd that His Majesty will not tax me with presumption, I am very indifferent what turn may be giv'n to it by others who may have more regard for Mr. O'Bryan than respect for the Bishop's memory, and who have not done the hundred thousandth part of the service to the king, that the Bishop has done,

"As it is an undoubted truth that the Bishop adher'd firmly to the King's interest to the last moment of his life, all the world will believe that Daniel O'Bryan's scheme for seizing the Bishop's Papers, against all justice and law, cou'd have no other motive but to discover some passages in his Lordship's private correspondence, that might maliciously be wrested by others, in order to affect his memory or hurt his friends; and every faithful subject of the King's at home or abroad, especially every member of the Church of England as well as the Clergy, must look upon such treatment of a great Prelate, who had sacrific'd his fortune for the King, and had ventured his life in his cause:—They must, I say, regard such usage of the Bishop as an injury and indignity even to themselves; and as far as I can yet see, it may have very ill effects on the King's interest,

unless timely care be taken to sett this affair in a true light.

"Whatever objections may be made to this Letter by those who impute their own refinements to the policy of others, (and I exceedingly despise all such weak refinements and idle as well as ignorant conjectures) I have no view in this humble representation to his Majesty, but his true interest; which is, I think, highly concern'd in doing justice to the memory of a great Bishop who was a faithful subject to the King; and by not suffering it to be insulted by a person at Paris who, in comparison of the Bishop, will be lookt upon at home, to be a very little and inconsiderable man. I will add farther that, as a true subject to the King, I cannot but be highly affected with anything that may hurt his Majesty's cause and be agreeable to his enemy's; and as a Presbyter of the Church of England, I may be allowd to offer my humble opinion in the case of a Bishop of that Church who, to my knowledge, was indefatigable in the King's cause, at a time when those who are enemys to his memory at present, neither had the capacity nor power, nor perhaps the inclination to promote it.

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours sincerely,

April 8th, 1732. E. H.

In consequence of the wish expressed by James, in his Letter to Mr. Inese of December, 15, 1773, Mr. Salkeld did not forward the Papers to Mr. Morice, or in any way make use of them; but waited for James' further decision. He appears, however, to have addressed another Letter to the Chevalier, early in the year 1734, concerning them, as we find him referring to such a communication in another, dated May 3, 1734, on his going to

England to superintend the education of Lord Orrery's two sons, and in which he says, "'Tis with the highest pleasure I was lately inform'd by Mr. Innes, that Your Majesty has been so gracious as to make a kind mention of the Letter I had the honour to write to you concerning Mr. Morice's Papers, and the commands your Majesty had before signify'd on that subject by Mr. Innes. By a posterior Letter of Your Majesty to the same person, we are further informed, that the reasons which induced Your Majesty at first to forbid the sending over of these Papers, do still subsist, and make it necessary for Your Majesty to require their stay on this side the water.

"The person by whom Mr. Morice had desired me to send the Papers in small packets to Dieppe, in order to their being the more easily and safely transmitted to England, is but lately departed: by him, I have writ to Mr. Morice to acquaint him with your Majesty's pleasure, and have endeavour'd to represent the matter to him in such a light, as to prevent his being offended at the disappointment. In a little time I expect to see him myself in England; where I hope, by word of mouth, I may be able to satisfy him more thoroughly, and prevent his giving or taking any wrong impressions, than I cou'd by writing. The Papers I shall leave in the hands of my Lord Sempill, who I am sure, will not part with them without your Majesty's directions, nor suffer any consideration whatsoever, to come in competition with his zeal for your Majesty's service."

In this position the affair, as regarded this particular portion of the Bishop's Papers, remained till the end of the following year, when the Chevalier appears to have received some other communication in reference to them: for on the 13th of September, 1735, he wrote a letter to the Duchess of Buckingham, in which he says, "Amongst Mr. Fellowes' [the Bishop of Rochester] Papers, there

were some relating to a certain lawsuit which you may have heard of, and which was the occasion of his being afterwards, so long in partnership with Mr. Nevil [France] Mr. Bateman [the King] did not think it would be advisable that these Papers should fall into too many hands, least by that means old animosities might be revived, and Mr. Draper [the King's cause] suffer; and therefore Mr. Bateman has been, hitherto, able to contrive matters so, as that they have not even come into Middleton's [England's] hands. Within these few days it has been insinuated to Mr. Bateman, as if Messrs. Child and Conway [the King's friends in England] were desirous that the above-mentioned Papers should become public, as what would be much for Mr. Dalton [his service], and agreeable to those who oppose Mr. Herbert [the Elector of Hanover]. But notwithstanding this, Mr. Bateman will not consent to those Papers being published, till he knows yours and your friends' opinion on the matter; which he desires you will let him know as soon as you conveniently can, that he may act accordingly, and be at the same time able to judge whether what has been represented to him about those Papers be sufficiently grounded or not; and for more despatch you may, if you think it proper, write me a few lines in answer to this, by Mr. Thomson's [Col. Cecil] canal."

This letter was forwarded through Colonel Cecil; but fearing that the Duchess might not have received it, in consequence of her journey to Paris, the Chevalier appears to have sent a copy of this and another he wrote subsequently, with one he transmitted to the Duchess on the 17th of October, when he informed her, "As I sent the two letters, of which you have here the copies, under Colonel Cecil's cover, I think it is proper to send these copies to you now, since you are on this side of the sea, where I was glad to hear you were safely arrived; and I

hope, in a few days, to hear from you: after which I shall write more fully to you. In the meantime, I here send you some more of the Queen's hair, because I conclude you have not received the two original letters of which I now send you the copies, and in one of which there was another parcel of the same. You will easily understand that the Papers relating to a certain law-suit mentioned in one of those letters, are Papers about the Bishop of Rochester's Trial, which I have long endeavoured to hinder from becoming public, chiefly on your friend's* account, supposing that it would not be agreeable to him, and prejudicial both to him and my service that such like matters should be revived: but should he be of a different opinion, I shall alter mine; and wish you would let me have as soon as you can, your answer on that subject."

It does not appear from any thing that has yet been discovered in the Correspondence, that the Duchess ever forwarded her opinion to Rome; and indeed from a passage in a Letter which James wrote to her on the 23rd of November, it would appear that she did not. Lord Sempill, however, had an interview with her at Paris, and in consequence of it, he forwarded the following Letter.

* It has been seen that O'Brien, in one of the Letters he despatched to Rome on the 7th of April, states in reference to these very Papers, that they had been prepared by Atterbury himself and filled with satirical reflections on Pultney; and we may gather from another of James' letters to the Duchess of Buckingham (August 14, 1735,) that the friend here mentioned is none other than Pultney himself. He there observes, "I am glad to find that you and Mr. Pultney continue in friendship together. It is certainly for my service that should be. I am persuaded he is the same man in all respects that he was, and we shall be much in the wrong to alter our opinion of him too slightly; especially considering the hard game he has to play."

Lord Semfill to the Chevalier.

"Sir,

"Your Majesty having been graciously pleas'd to let me know by Mr. Inese, upon what I had the honour to write to Your Majesty August 22d, that you would take further information of the sentiments of your friends regarding the publication of the Bishop of Rochester's tryal; I think it my duty to lay the enclosed before Your Majesty, which I receiv'd from Mr. Morice, by the gentleman who is mention'd in it, and who confirm'd to me all that I had before heard, and taken the liberty to represent to your Majesty on the subject.

"But as I have since had the honour to wait on the Duchess of Buckingham, who was desirous to know, from my self, the reason of my refusing to deliver these Papers to the Bishop's Heir and Executor; Her Grace allows me humbly to propose an expedient that will, I hope, be equally satisfactory to Your Majesty and all concern'd. It is, Sir, that Your Majesty would have the goodness and condescension to permitt me to put the Papers in question into the Duchess's hands, who is willing to take the trouble of carrying them with her into England; where her Grace is so highly respected by those that are truely zealous for the Royal Cause, and particularly by the Bishop's friends, that they will all be pleas'd when She owns that the papers are in her possession; and their deference to her is such, that I dare say none will then expect, or desire they should be publish'd, till She is perfectly satisfy'd both as to the time and manner of publishing them. By this means the Duchess will take upon herself the delay that is now imputed to Your Majesty; and yet Your Majesty may be well assur'd, that they will never go out of her

hands, but with Your Majesty's Consent and in the way that will be most conducive to your interest.

" If Your Majesty approves of this overture, I hope to have the honour of knowing your Royal pleasure before the Duchess leaves this place; whatever it is, it shall be most punctually and most submissively executed by,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most humble

Most obedient and most faithfully

Devoted Subject and Servant,

SEMPILL."

Paris, October 17th, 1735.

Concerning Lord Sempill's letter and the proposition it contained about this portion of the Bishop's Papers, James wrote to Mr. Inese on the 2d of November, stating, " I have received a Letter from Lord Sempill of the 17th October, with one enclosed in it which I here send you that you may return it him; and you will tell him at the same time, that being straiten'd in time this post, I have directed you to let him know that I approve of his putting the Papers relating to the late Bishop of Rochester's Tryal, into the hands of the Lady he mentions; and take well of him, the regard he continues to show to me in that particular." And on the same day, he also wrote to the Duchess of Buckingham, stating his acquiescence in the arrangement, " I understand," he says, " that Lord Sempill has spoken to you about the Papers relating to the late Bishop of Rochester's Tryal, and he will be acquainted this post, that I approve of those Papers being put into your hands. All my concern in this affair, was the good of the cause and the quiet of my friends; for otherways it is a private matter in which I have nothing to do, nor no right to enter into. But when these Papers are

in your hands I shall be easy, because I am very sure, you will do all that is right and proper about them." And he concludes the correspondence relating to these particular Papers, in another letter he forwarded to the Duchess on the 23rd of the same month, by assuring her, "As you will have those Papers now probably in your own custody, I shall be in that case at ease about them, and shall say no more on the subject here."

A single glance at the list which accompanied Inese's letter of November 23, will enable the reader easily to comprehend the nature of Atterbury's occupation, and the importance his correspondence is likely to prove, for the purpose of elucidating several important transactions. And, in as much as these documents are the true and, frequently, the only source, whence a clear insight into many points of this particular branch and period of our history, can be obtained,—so will the future historian, and the nation generally, not fail to appreciate the essential service done to the cause of literature and of truth, by Her Majesty's gracious permission to publish such of these Documents as are now in existence: which, besides correcting many popular errors relating to James and his family, will enable her Subjects to discern, how much they have gained by the establishment of the House of Hanover on the throne of these realms, and the sound policy that dictated and carried out the Act of Settlement.

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

BISHOP ATTERBURY.

I.

[It is to be understood that the whole of the following Correspondence of Bishop Atterbury, is addressed to the Chevalier de St. George, the son of King James the second by Mary of Modena, unless otherwise indicated.]

SIR, *August 15th.* 1717.

I have often reproached myself for my silence, after so many encouragements to write; but I depended upon it, that the best construction would be put upon that silence, by one who was well acquainted with the manner in which I was employed. My heart is better known to you, Sir, than my hand, and my actions, I hope, have spoken for me better than any letters could do; and to those actions I shall always appeal, which I intend, by God's blessing, shall be uniform and entirely of a piece, to the last moment of my life.

I have for many years past neglected no opportunity (and particularly no advantage my station afforded me) towards promoting the service. Whatever happens, I shall go on in that way, unalterably and firmly, without suffering hopes or fears of another kind, to make the least impression upon me.

My daily prayer to God is, that you may have success in the just cause wherein you are engaged. I doubt not but He will at last grant it; and in such a manner, as to

make it a blessing, not only to your fast friends and faithful servants, but even to those who have been, and are still, most averse to the thoughts of it. God be thanked, their numbers lessen daily! As their divisions increase, their prejudices abate, and your cause gathers strength; and, what gives me encouragement to believe that God hath undertaken it, is, that it is most promoted by their measures, who seem most heartily to oppose it. They are either infatuated, or mean differently from what they pretend; and, in either case, will so prepare and dispose things here at home, that the measures concerted abroad, when they come to take place, will have an easy and certain effect. May I live to see that day! and live no longer than I do whatever is in my power to forward it.

I have written largely to Mr. Morris, (the Duke of Mar) upon the present state of affairs here; and shall not fail to obey the directions I have received, and to give all the assistance of which I am capable, to those who are engaged in the same service.

I am,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

ROBERT YOUNG.

Endorsed by Lord Mar "Mr. Young [Atterbury] to the King, August 15th O. S., 1717, delivered to the K. by Lord M (Mar) Novemb. 23d. N.S. 1717."

[The receipt of this letter, which is in Atterbury's own hand writing, is acknowledged by James in one to the Bishop, dated Dec. 15th 1717, and which he concludes by observing "with Friends like you it is not easie to finish a letter, but it is time to conclude this with my heartiest thanks for your indefatigable zeal in my service. I can only ask the continuance of it, and that when convenient, you will let me hear from you in making your correspondence as useful as it is agreeable, by imparting to me your advice and opinion with great freedom and frankness; for I can say with truth, that you will never offend me by telling it to me, and that I should not look on you as my friend if you hid it from me. My heartiest good wishes and all my kindness, attend you now by writing, and will I hope one day by my actions."]

II.

To the Earl of Mar.

[The following letter, which is in the hand writing of Mr. Murray, is the communication mentioned in the concluding paragraph of the preceding letter, and was written at the same time.]

Sir,

No man is, or has been more heartily concerned for the interest of the company than myself: but the promoting it by a correspondence with the factors abroad, is a matter which I am not much acquainted with, and which I thought would be more properly transacted by those who are; to whom, therefore, I have, as occasion offered, imparted my sense of things freely, and will continue so to do, particularly to Mr. Morpeth [James Murray]. Nor shall I be averse towards concerting measures with the other person mentioned,* especially, since I find that you

* This is supposed to have reference to some feeling of discontent or jealousy subsisting between Atterbury and Lord Oxford. Lord Mar, in a letter to the latter, says in the Postscript, "Since I wrote this I have seen a letter from Mr. Marwood [James Murray] in which he speaks with respect and regard of Mr. Clair [Lord Oxford]; but I find by it that Clair stands not so well with Mr. Flint [Atterbury] as perhaps he imagines. I confess I am extreame sorry for those differences, and I hope you'll get them cured; but if that cannot be, I think it best will be to let each of them go on in their own way, without having meddlings with one another, if this can be without making things worse between them; and then perhaps the nature of the things they will be employed in, will in time, bring them to be better together, than if more pains were taken to have it so." And in a letter he wrote about this time to Mr. Murray, and in which Lord Oxford seems sufficiently well indicated by the mention made of his health, he observes, "I am heartily vexed and regret that Mr. Young [Atterbury] and the other Gentleman you name, cannot hit it better together, as we used to say; but old grudges are not easily removed, and their tempers are not alike. I hope though they are better together now than they have for some time been, and that they will yet come to a better understanding and closer concert; but if that cannot be, it were good that they had no meddling together, but each be taken

so earnestly desire it, whose commands shall always have the utmost weight with me: and I have therefore already taken such measures in that respect, as will shew that I can overlook all private matters, where the public interest of the trade is at stake; and therefore, without troubling you with accounts of what has passed, will apply myself to do what service I can for the future.

Mr. Dryden's paper, *[the Declaration] shall be forthwith reviewed, and the alterations or additions that may be thought advisable, made; and if the person who carries this goes not too soon, that draught may probably bear it company, together with a clause, which I have long thought proper to be inserted in Sir John's [the King's] friend's paper, in order to ease the minds of those friends

in their own way, if this can be brought about without occasioning a greater grudge betwixt them than hitherto. I have wrote to Mr. Young, for whom I have all the value and regard that can be, as Patricia [James] has. He has formerly had reason to see that I preferred no body's opinion and advice to his; and I can assure him that I am not changed." In another letter he adds "I am heartily sorry there is not a better understanding than you mention between Rigg [Atterbury] and Hughes [Lord Oxford] which, as you think, will certainly be a loss to Knight [James] upon every emergent. I wish I knew how to help it, but I believe all that can be done towards that from hence, is done already, tho' I confess I despair of its having the desired effect."

* James, in a letter to Atterbury, Feb. 15th 1717, says, "You know how necessary Mr. Dryden [the Declaration] will be on this occasion. I desire you will without loss of time, let me know your thoughts of him, and what you would advise him to say on this occasion." And the same subject is mentioned by Lord Mar on the 3rd of July, who, in writing to the Bishop, mentions the very letter from which the above quotation is taken, and states that one principal part of it was for your opinion concerning a Paper of Mr. Dryden's of which there was then like to be some occasion for, and of altering it a little from the last edition." He then adds, "there has not been so sudden an occasion of making use of it as I then hoped, but there yet may in time, and against that occasion shall offer, I must beg to have your advice upon it, and that you will be so good to make what alterations and additions to it you think needful, to please those it is designed for. You are the fittest person for this, and it is what Sir Jonathan [the King] intrusts to you."

of the company here, who are apt to see things in the worst light, and to discourage themselves by such prospects.

No news can be more welcome here than that of Sir John's [the King's] intentions to take a partner; especially if it be such a person as Cowly's [the Church's] friends can apprehend no inconvenience from. That would be a lucky step indeed, and fruitful of good consequences.

A proper use shall be made of what you mention concerning Mr. Lamb, [liberty, &c.] and indeed there is need of all the lights of that kind you can give us, to obviate the indiscretion of some who are joined in the same bottom with us, and who (if I am not much misinformed), talk of their separate interest in the joint trade, in a manner no ways becoming them.

Your accounts of what has been said here concerning some imaginary differences abroad,* have not so much foundation as you may suppose: at least, if they have, I am a stranger to it. Something of that kind has been whispered, but it has made no noise, nor had any ill effects, and will die away of itself, without your giving yourselves the least trouble to confute it. I am afraid that matter

* Between the Duke of Ormonde and Lord Mar, the latter of whom says in a letter to Atterbury, "I cannot help telling you how glad I am to know that friends with you are now satisfied, that all idle stories they had heard of differences being betwixt their friends Osburn [the Duke of Ormonde] and Morris [Lord Mar] are false . . . . . Mr. Oliphant [the Duke of Ormonde] is a man of so much worth, good nature and honour, that all his acquaintance must value and love him; and the part he is now acting, as well as what he has done hitherto, is so honourable and disinterested, as well as for the general interest of his friends, that he cannot be enough commended for it, and may he have good luck in his generous undertaking. It would be very odd if Mr. Montague [Lord Mar] did not continue to him the same friendship and value for him, he has had during the fifteen years acquaintance, and you may assure yourself it will ever continue the same there, let what little medlers soever do what they please to alter it by lyes and storys, which both are wiser than to mind."

has been over-represented to you from hence, for reasons which it is easy to guess at, and therefore needless to explain. But if you take the alarm from anything that indiscreet persons may have said, or done on your side, you may assure yourself that they have had little success here, nor have they been able to spread the infection if they intended it. However, it must be owned that the expectations of the Roman Catholics* are raised, after an unaccountable manner; and, if not checked, may be of mischievous consequence: not that their indiscretion can hinder or retard the event, but it will breed so much jealousy and uneasiness, and infuse such prejudices in men's minds, as cannot afterwards be rooted out, and will put a back-game into the hands of those who will neither want malice, nor skill enough to play it.

It were well if the account of the muslins [money] (those I mean which were bought up and transmitted by one particular person) were so far stated, that the traders might see they have been honourably dealt with by him who was employed in that affair; and who, as yet, is not able to

* In reference to this passage, Lord Mar expresses a wish to have further information on "what you say in relation to the Roman Catholics' expectations being raised so unaccountably. When we know it further you may be sure my uncle [James] will give orders about it, and will be very much displeased with any folly of theirs, especially of that unreasonable kind; but just now we are entirely ignorant of it, and when you explain it more fully, I wish at the same time that you would let us know your opinion how to have a stop put to it." James also took the alarm, and in his letter says, "I wish you would explain to me what you say to Martel [Lord Mar] of Mr. Cook [the Roman Catholics]. As favourable as I may be thought to be to that Gentleman, I shall be the first to censure him, if he proves faulty, and to prevent as much as in me lies, any false step he may be upon: but sure he cannot be so blind either as to Peter's [James'] interest or his own, as to give any umbrage at this time. I am sure if he follows either my advice or example he will give none at any time, but I cannot answer for the indiscretion of some; and as I take your hint very kindly, so, I desire your further light and advice upon it."

assure them positively, that what he sent arrived safe, much less to what purposes, it was employed; which is not only a matter of some uneasiness to him, but will make any further attempt of that kind less practicable.

Indeed that former small quantity of the commodity was procured with so much difficulty, that, I doubt, no further step can be taken on that head with any probability of success, till the persons here embarked in the trade, can say with assurance, that all things are actually agreed upon abroad, and that the muslins [money] when got, shall remain in the warehouses here at home, till they are delivered out on a proper occasion. And whether even such assurance may produce what may be expected, I cannot say; I am rather apt to think they will not. This is necessary to be said, that there may be no dependence upon us here, for what we are not likely to perform.* This,

* Muslin is a cant term used here for money; and the muslin or linen trade designates at this period, the efforts of James and his friends to procure funds for carrying on their designs. The sums of money drawn from England at various times by James, were very large, and were raised either by voluntary remittances, or borrowed on loan to be repaid at his restoration. There is among the Stuart papers, a Warrant, drawn up and signed by James himself, dated at Barr le Duc, March 13th, 1715, empowering the Duke of Ormonde, "to borrow for our service what sum or sums of money he shall think necessary or convenient for that end, from such of our loyal subjects in England as are willing and able to give us at this time these marks of their affection." At the period this letter was written, Atterbury appears to have been the chief instrument employed in these matters, and James urges him "For God's sake take care the muslin trade goes on, for without that nothing can be done, and that alone can set all hands to work." He had it appears transmitted a considerable sum about this time, through John Menzies, who had been long and much trusted by the Jacobite Party, but upon whom in reference to this affair, there hung some suspicions in consequence of the Bishop not being able to obtain from him a satisfactory account of the disposal of the money entrusted to him. Lord Mar on the same day wrote both to Atterbury and Menzies concerning this. To the former he says "I am astonished that I. M [enzies] has not yet given you full satisfaction in relation to the Musselins [Money], notwithstanding of my repeated letters to him for

you may depend on, that the inclinations of people here are not altered of late, unless it be for the better; but their hopes are sunk for want of proper encouragements, which has disposed some of them to think that they ought to make the best of what they do not like; and there are those, who will certainly pursue that thought next winter, if nothing intervenes to hinder them.

What is doing cannot be kept with too much secrecy here or elsewhere, till it is done; and, when done, need not be concealed: for as soon as it is known it will give such discouragements on one side, and raise such hopes on the other, as will make more than an amends for any ill consequences that may happen upon such a discovery; provided execution be not too long delayed.

The great point is, so to order matters, as to make men judge that the thing will succeed, and that it is their interest it should succeed. Whatever contributes to give them these views, facilitates the end: and therefore I cannot forbear saying on this head, that the seeming enemies of the cause have done it more service than the real friends of it.

Indeed the friends of it can be of little service but in

that end. I have now wrote to him once more of it, wherein I have told him my mind very plainly and what I must think if he do it not forthwith, which if he do not, there must be another course taken as to him. In his letter to Menzies he says, "by a paragraph in his [Atterbury's] letter, I find Heart's [Menzies] not having as yet made an account to him of what he had put in his hands, still sticks with him, as indeed it is no wonder, which you will tell Heart [Menzies] from me, and it is unaccountable that he has been so long o' doing it, after what has been told him about it again and again. I am persuaded he has better sense than to have delayed so long, a thing which so nearly concerns his reputation, could he have done it as he ought, and if he cannot, the best thing he can do is to own it and tell the matter plainly. . . . . In fine there is a necessity for his immediately giving Hatchet [Atterbury] satisfaction in this matter, else no friend he has can vindicate or stand up for him, and cannot fail of having a very odd opinion of it."

two particulars: the giving you true and full accounts of facts relating to persons and things here, and the doing what in them lies, to prevent those conjunctions of differing interests which may retard the event. In the first of these I hope you have been well informed: and, as to the latter, we have not been idle: but, without the assistance of those who would be thought to mean nothing less than the interest they have really served, we could scarce have compassed it.

As for gaining particular men by particular applications, I think, no industry or skill that may be employed in that matter can be of any great use. The business is so to order things as that men shall convince themselves, and see where their own and the public interest lies; and when that comes to pass (and I think it is not now very far from coming to pass) they will soon find out fit persons to open their minds to, and lay hold of proper occasions to declare themselves.

And this effect (to return to my point) must chiefly be owing (as it hath already chiefly sprung) from the cause I mentioned: and your sincere friends would overvalue their own merit too much, if they pretended to any great share in it. I saw not E. at his return; nor, it may be, was it proper I should. To prevent mistakes for the future, I will employ nobody but who comes directly from myself, and impart nothing but in my own hand, or Mr. Morpeth's [James Murray]. The result of any discourse I shall have with Honyton [Earl of Oxford] will be sure to reach you by his means.

You will I suppose have a full account of affairs here from his and other hands. What I have written is not out of the vain hope of being useful, but merely to express my readiness to comply with what you, Sir, judge proper; and to acknowledge the honour of your several letters; and to assure you (as I do very sincerely) that there is not a

man in the world who values your good opinion more, or is with more respect,

Sir,

Your faithful humble

Servant,

R. YOUNG.

One particular deserves a P.S. I have for some time had accounts from a sure hand that the D. of R.* is rightly disposed, and that nothing hinders his joining himself to our friends but an apprehension that two persons, declared bastards by an Act in King Charles the Second's time, (especially one of them now with Sir John) may have such an interest in him, as may be to his prejudice hereafter. Remove this jealousy and he is yours entirely.

You will please to let me have that letter from Sir John which lies in your hands, as soon as a proper opportunity offers, and to procure the other three which were written for, and which I will undertake to deliver.

Endorsed [by Lord Mar,] "Mr. Young [Atterbury] to Mr. Morris, L. M. [Lord Mar]: brought by Mrs. Swift [Ogilvie] in a packet to Mr. Dutton, [Dillon] and delivered to Morris at Bourget, Sept. 29th. N.S. 1717."

* The Duke of Rutland. In reference to this passage, Lord Mar in his answer to Atterbury says, "I am very glad of what you tell me as to D. Rutland, but it is odd how he can have any apprehensions as to these two Gentlemen you mention, when that affair was done and fixed in the manner it was so long ago; but to make him easy in that point you may by yourself or who else you think fit, assure him that he needs not have any fears that way . . . . . If you think it fit I will speak to Sir John [James] to write to him, which I am sure he'll be ready to do, if that will give him any ease, and he be willing to receive it." The cause of his Grace's uneasiness were the children of the first (and divorced) wife of John, first Duke of Rutland.

III.

To the Earl of Mar.

Sir, *Dec.* 14*th.* 1717.

'Tis with a particular satisfaction that I now write to you, the state of Affairs here at home being much altered for the better, since my last; and the alterations produced being of such a nature as cannot fail of improving themselves into further consequences for the advantage of the Cause. You have a general representation of them in the Memorial* now transmitted, and will receive at the same time other accounts, how this new scene operates upon particular persons, and disposes them to receive such impressions for Mr. Knight's [the King's] service, as they could not before be brought to entertain. And without pretending to any deep skill in men or things, I will venture to say, that every day will produce more and more instances of this kind, and that men's eyes will open gradually towards seeing their own and the public interest. And this will be wrought in them chiefly by their own reflections on what has passed, without their needing to be much solicited by others towards a change of their conduct or opinions: so that you may look on, and stand still, and let causes here at home produce their effects; whilst you are ripening the great scheme, which is to fall in with these dispositions, and which, (after all) can alone render them significant, while we continue under the power of a standing army.

I have always thought that Mr. Knight's [the King's] enemies here at home, were the only friends that could, in our present circumstances, effectually serve him. Every

* "Memorial containing an account of the present state of affairs in E[ngland] December 14th [1717]." It was forwarded to Lord Mar in Murray's letter of the same date; and is in the hand-writing of George Kelly, alias Johnson.

day has persuaded me more and more of this truth; and I am astonished when I look back on the several steps successively taken by them, than which the wit of man could not have found out better towards promoting the common end we aim at: particularly this last step, whereby the breach has been made between K. G. and the P. [King George I. and the Prince of Wales] has been so happily conducted that, if you, Sir, had had the direction of affairs here, you could not have thought of anything more useful, or managed it more skilfully then they have done. For my heart I cannot help thinking, that they desire this step should be understood abroad, as a plain instance of their good intentions to the cause, by the impossibility they have put themselves under of being well with the successor, and by the plain tendency of what they have done towards defeating his succession.* And this I am the rather induced to believe, because, he among them who has the chief sway in the present councils, is a man of great penetration and reach, and of admirable dexterity, and very far from that character of rashness and madness, which some people have given him. I wish I may be in the right in this

* The quarrel between George I. and his son, and the dissension it caused among the Whigs, was considered by the friends of the exiled family, as one of the most favourable circumstances towards promoting the Pretender's restoration. It enters largely into Atterbury's Memorials transmitted about this time, to the "King's Servants;" and to such an extent was this feeling entertained, that Lord Mar in his answer to the second Memorial, has this remarkable passage. "If those Ministers have such power with George as by all his actions it seems they have; and [can] likewise be brought to have a view towards the King: it may not be impossible that they may get him, one way or other, to contribute to the advantage of the King's affairs. His hatred to the Prince may make him less solicitous about holding of it [the Government] during his own time; and if he comes to find that his new dominions are like to draw on him a powerful confederacie that may endanger his old, his former thoughts of throwing back his possession of the new, to those who gave it him, may return: and it is not impossible that he may find the effects of this confederacie this way ere long."

opinion, for then every thing will go on smoothly and easily. But whether this be their immediate view or not, I am persuaded that they may be so pressed and distressed, as to be forced by the end of this Session, to take shelter under a scheme, which will appear to be the only one that can save them from the resentments of their enemies. For it is certain that, upon the foot that things at present stand, the present Ministry cannot stand long; and therefore our business here is to procure either an union or opposition of interests, so far as is necessary to facilitate this end, if the Ministry design it, or to force them to it, if they do not. And in order to it to leave nothing unattempted towards keeping every single Tory, that may have his eye on a place at Court, from closing with any motion of that kind; and in this if we succeed, it is the greatest service, that in our present circumstances we can possibly do. In the meantime I have good reason to say to you, that Bernsdorf, who has taken upon him the office of mediating in this quarrel and procuring a reconciliation, has owned that he saw the English Ministry were averse to it, and seemed to have other views, but nevertheless he would endeavour to go through with it. I can assure you also that the Germans are by no means pleased with Stanhope, who though rash in the field, has acted with a very remarkable wariness in the Treasury, and shewed great unwillingness to part with a shilling of the public money in any way but what he could justify; which is the very worse fault he could be guilty of towards those, who have no other way, beside the misapplication of the public money, to make themselves amends for their exclusion from places. Let me add one thing more, which I have good reason to believe; that many of the Whigs who voted for the standing army, and helped the Court to carry it by fourteen; have since told the Ministers, that it was a very hard service, and that they will not be put upon

such things for the future; and that this declaration has so far affected the men in power as to incline them to drop their favourite bill for repealing the Test Act, together with the Schism Act, and that against Occasional Conformity. At present they are under irresolution in that point: whether they will gain strength and spirit enough to renew that attempt after the holidays, we shall see: but I rather think they will not.

These things put together convince me that Stanhope and Sunderland cannot tide it out longer than this Session, (though Cadogan possibly may) and if so, there is but one thing in the world, that they can wisely resolve upon. They see at this present, after they have taken all the odium upon themselves of inflaming this quarrel, a foreign Minister interposing without their consent to heal it, and to undo all they have been doing. And what can they expect from hence but a farther opposition to their schemes? And what way is there but one, of their screening themselves from the effect of such measures? At this moment Bernsdorf is looking out for new men to come into the aid of the Court, and do the foreigners', as well as their master's business, and he thinks he shall find such in a few months time, and make up a motly number of men for that purpose. This the English Ministers who have now the chief direction cannot miss seeing: and seeing it, one would think, they should in some measure prepare for it.

I trouble you with no more reflections of this kind, but apply myself to consider the several particulars in your letter of Oct. 9th which require any answer.

Sir John's [the King's] marriage* is a subject to which his

* This is in reply to a passage of a letter from Lord Mar, in which he says "there is one thing I mentioned in the former accounts . . . . . that I am now in no small concern about, and in which I want extremely to have your advice. It is in relation to my cousin Sir John's marriage, which, for many reasons, seems so necessary for his interest, and without that I see not how

friends have applied their thoughts with the utmost atten-

it can be kept from sinking." Indeed the anxiety of James's friends on this subject, and how much it occupied their attention, is abundantly proved by the manner in which it enters into their correspondence at this period. Even previously to the date of this letter, its importance had not been overlooked; for as early as 1715, James had entertained thoughts of proposing for the hand of a daughter of the Regent Duke of Orleans, although he had doubts whether "such an alliance would be acceptable to the fantastical Lady Mary [England]." In 1716, he sent O'Rourke to make overtures to the Elector Palatine for the hand of a Princess of that family. On the sixth of July of that year he writes to this Agent as follows, "J'étois dans l'impatience de recevoir des nouvelles d'Inspruck lorsque je receus celle de la mort de l'Electeur Palatin. Je vous prie d'en faire mes complimens au présent Electeur, et de luy faire resouvenir en meme tems qu'il est à présent son maître, et j'espère en droit de disposer de la Princesse sa fille. Les délays qui sont survenus dans l'exécution de ce que j'ay proposé à son egard, n'ont ni ebranlé ma constance ni rallenti mon ardeur, &c." This negociation failed; for on the 8th of September, 1716, the Elector Palatine writes to O'Rourke declining the match, on the ground that he was "obligé d'avoir tout le regard au Gouvernement présent d'Abeville [Angleterre];" and then appeals to O'Rourke's own knowledge concerning "la situation des Etats et Domaines de Constantin [l'Electeur] et avec quelle facilité il y pourroit être inquiété de la part d'Humbert [Hanovre]." In the following year he made a proposal to the Duke of Modena for the hand of his eldest daughter; and thinking the Duke tardy in giving his consent, he wrote on the 12th of June, urging him to come to a decision. "Mon bonheur," says James "mon cher Oncle est entre vos mains, aussi bien que celuy de tous mes sujets, et la religion même n'est pas peu intéressée dans votre détermination: . . . . faites le donc au plûtot, faites voir que vos sentimens répondent a votre naissance, et par une résolution digne de vous, rendez moy heureux en vous montrant vrayment grand, et au dessus de tout ce qui empêche souvent les autres Princes à soutenir la justice et la religion." This application also failed, and, very much it would seem, to his regret, for he observes in a letter to Dillon, "would to God Masters' [Duke of Modena] affair had succeeded, but alas there is no more thoughts to be had of that." He was not more successful in his negociations for this purpose, with the Czar, the King of Sweden, or the Landgrave of Hesse, to all of whom, as appears from his letters, he sent proposals. Nor does he seem to have shewn any aversion to unite himself to a Protestant Princess, and was at one time ready to prefer Miss Hornby [the Princess of Hesse] to all others, as most agreeable to his friends and Henry [England]; on whose account indeed "he was willing to enter into any marriage than none at all." At last, after a negociation of more than a year's duration, he was married by proxy to the Princess Clementina Sobieski, in May, 1719.

tion and concern. 'Tis their unanimous opinion (as far as I have been able to collect it) that no time should be lost towards accomplishing it, if the person be such as will be welcome to his friends here. But if such a match cannot immediately be provided, and there be a probability of an attempt this Spring, they think it much more for his service to postpone the marriage, till that attempt is over, than to finish it now in such a manner as may administer jealousy and uneasiness to any of those whose best wishes and endeavours are united in his service: and this, Sir, is particularly the opinion of one to whom Sir John [the King] has lately written (Mr. B.) and whom I have freely discoursed on that occasion. I cannot stop here without explaining my own sentiments further on this head, and begging you to make the most favourable construction of them. Sure I am there is not a word I shall say on this head, but what proceeds from an heart entirely devoted to Sir John's interest. I cannot without the deepest concern reflect on the ill consequences that will attend Sir J.'s engaging in a match that will not be welcome to his friends. I am satisfied, that should it lay no effectual bar in his way to his Pretensions, yet after he is possessed of them, it will fill the rest of his life with perpetual uneasinesses, and give his enemies such an handle as they will not fail to make use of towards perplexing every step of his affairs. I see methinks how, and how successfully, they will work in this case, and how impossible it will be for the wisest and honestest men living to prevent the influence of their malicious endeavours. I could say more, but choose rather to excuse myself for saying so much on this head, and pass on to the other particulars of your lettter. The account sent to you of Lord P.* [eterborough] gave me

* The reasons of Lord Peterborough's journey into Italy about this time seem to be enveloped in considerable mystery. His known eccentric and romantic character doubtless added weight to the rumour that it was under-

the greatest surprise and uneasiness, because I was so far from having any hand in transmitting that Report, that I did all I could towards discountenancing it, when it first arose; and every where declared my opinion of it as an

taken for some particular and extraordinary purpose; although it is utterly impossible to imagine that the motives attributed to him by the friends of the Pretender ever entered his imagination — wild as it was. It is however incontestable that they did not hesitate to impute to him a design of the most atrocious character; and repeated warnings were forwarded to James from England to be on his guard. To his credit however it must be observed, that there was an evident reluctance on the part of James, to give credence to the information that had been forwarded to him; and yet such was its character and seemingly so conclusive of the fact, that he considered himself obliged to take some precaution for his personal safety, and Lord Peterborough was, at his instance, arrested at Bologna on the 11th of September. While thus under restraint he was visited by Mr. Sheldon, a person who had been selected from "the knowledge he hath of Lord Peterborough" and in the instructions which James himself wrote for the guidance of this person, he is particularly desired "to avoid above all things, any thing of personal reflection whether as to manners, or his character in the world; and to lay before him (Lord P.) the solid reasons we had to suspect his designs, not only from the authentic informations I had received, but from his own conduct which did but too much reinforce them." James however was still in reality, unwilling to believe him capable of the atrocity said to be contemplated, and in the succeeding month, he was liberated upon his giving to Sheldon the following memorandum.

"Till your Court be informed to satisfaction about this so injurious and false representation which has been made of me, I cannot but express myself to you in this manner.

"I declare upon my honour that no person living ever durst make a proposition to me of the nature that has been reported, that I would have used him as the greatest of villains, who ever had made such an attempt.

"As a Christian I swear by the living God, and renounce the mercy and merits of Christ in my last hour, if ever I had any thought of doing the Prince your master any injury, either by myself or others, or ever gave by word or action, any occasion for such a suspition. This upon the word of a Gentleman and the faith of a Christian, I declare to be the truth.

(signed) PETERBOROW."

The copy of this declaration is endorsed "Copie of my Lord Peterborow's little note whereby he declares, sweares and signs that he is innocent." "The king has the original in my Lord's own hand." This original is now with the Stuart Papers.

idle groundless tale: nor did one of my friends, that I know of, give any credit to it. 'Tis impossible to advise at this distance, what should properly be done to retrieve that mistake; but surely good words and good usage are the best aftergame that can be played. And this, together with the ridiculous account of the quarrels here, which by this time have reached that Lord, may perhaps dispose him at last, to pursue his interest rather than his resentments.

What I said of the R. C.'s [Roman Catholics] expectations* being unaccountably raised, was true at that time when I wrote; and they were very liberal in their declarations, that somewhat of importance was doing for our relief, which gave a needless alarm, and did no real service. But all that has died away since; and at present there is no ground for complaints of this kind; every body sitting silent and quiet, and pleasing themselves with the odd management here at home, without raising any expectations from abroad. And in the present situation of affairs, I am glad they do not: for our domestic divisions and folly are sufficient for the present to keep up men's spirits without being told that certain relief is near at hand. There was indeed a time when one would have been glad to have encouraged people by some particular accounts of what was agitating abroad; and when they were so dispirited, as to seem to want such a cordial — and that was what I meant in my last. But now, what they see here pleases them so much, that they can wait with a little patience for what they do not see, or hear of.

As to the affair of the Muslins, in relation to what is passed, 'tis my earnest desire that no more may be said of it. I am now pretty well acquainted with the whole of it, and not willing to give you, Sir, or any body, farther trouble on that head. In respect to what you desire

* See Note, Letter II. page 6.

may be done, the gentleman* intrusted will by word of

* This Gentleman was George Kelly, who arrived at Paris early in January, 1718: Dillon, in writing to Lord Mar, and mentioning this circumstance states, in reference to the subject of the muslins, "In order to avoid all mistakes, I here enclose in Mr. Ireton's [Kelley's] own handwriting, the private message that was sent by him. Mr. Rigg presses earnestly for Andrew's [the Queen-Mother] writing to Hughes [Lord Oxford] about the mantle affair, and thinks the most proper time for compasing that matter will be during the next Sessions of Percy [Parliament], whilst friends are together in town." And he afterwards adds, "it is very plain that the latter [Rigg] would have Hughes as deeply engaged in the mantle affair as himself; and I apprehend very much, that the want of a good understanding twixt both those gentlemen, may be a great detriment to Mr. Knight's [the King's] interest." The paper above alluded to as containing the private message, is as follows:

"Mr. Rigg's name was so publicly and indiscretely made use of in the last mantle affair, that he thinks it highly improper and very dangerous for him to undertake that matter now; and therefore recommends it to Dutton to speak to Andrew, that he may write to Hughes to take upon him this part of Mr. Knight's [the King] service, being in all respects perfectly qualified for it, and likewise to enclose the list of names (which the bearer carries) to him; and if he does not think fit to undertake the business in general, he cannot with any colour deny making application to those gentlemen in particular, because they are all under his immediate influence, and each of them very well able to contribute to Peter's [the King] interest upon this occasion. In the mean time Mr. Rigg [Atterbury] desires to assure Dutton [Dillon] (which he may impart to Andrew [the Queen-mother] as he thinks proper) that Allen [Earl of Arran] and he will do what lies conveniently in their power for Mr. Knight in this point; but is very sure that if Hughes [Earl of Oxford] comes to know that they are any way concerned in this service, that he will decline it, which must be a detriment, since nobody besides him can apply with success to the above-mentioned gentlemen; and as next session is the best time for doing of business, when most of Peter's friends will be in town, so it is Rigg's opinion that Andrew would do well to send his instructions to this purpose without delay to Mr. Hughes, in order to prevent any excuses of friends being dispersed or the like, which (if this opportunity of the sessions be slipt) he may make use of in case he has no inclination to embark in the affair. Mr. Stoner [William Shippen, Esq. M.P.] had thoughts of undertaking the mantle business, and likewise of putting a scheme of Dutton's in execution which they much approved of, for creating a misunderstanding between Hern [Duke of Hanover] and Otway [Regent, of France], had not that accident of his confinement so unluckily

mouth, open the state of that matter fully to you or to

happened, but as that gentleman has always shewed a particular zeal for Mr. Knight's service, so it is not to be doubted when he is at liberty, he will do all that lies in his power to promote it.

" It is likewise recommended to Dutton to ask Andrew if Seton [Duke of Shrewsbury] has made any late applications to him or Peter, because Rigg has been told that Seton said, if he were sure that Mr. Knight had any good project on foot, and he had a secure person to deal with, that he would advance him ten thousand pounds himself, and likewise engage that another gentleman (whose name he would not mention) should do the same. Rigg never received any message from Shrimpton [Duke of Shrewsbury] to this purpose, neither is there any intimacy betwixt them, so that though it would be very improper for the former to make any steps in this matter, yet he thinks Andrew would do well to find a proper method of applying to Seton.

" It is recommended also to Dutton to get Andrew to write a letter of thanks to Mrs. Pooly [Lady Peters] for what she has done, and let her know that Peter's affairs require her farther assistance, and another much to the same purpose to Mr. Newcomb [Duke of Norfolk], and to send with these letters two blank powers for raising of Mantle, one for Mr. Allen, which he may make use of, with such of the Primrose family [Protestants] as he thinks fit; and another for any person which he and Newcomb shall think proper to be employed among Rogers's people [Roman Catholics].

Lord Harley
Lord Foly
Lord Mansell
Lord Bingley
Lord Dartmouth
Auditor Foly
Auditor Harley
Bishop of Hereford.

This is the list which Rigg recommends to be sent by Mr. Andrew to Hughes."

This paper was accompanied by another, also in Kelly's handwriting and relating to the same subject, endorsed by Dillon, " A Paper from Mr. Johnson," which he appears to have sent in the first instance to the Queen Mother at St. Germains, who forwarded it to James at Urbino, where it was received on the 10th February, 1718. It is as follows:

" The next session (which begins the 13th of January, O. S.) is certainly the best time for doing of business, when most of Mr. Knight's friends will be in town: and since in all probability it will not hold long, and that when the house is up, the members generally go to the country, it is therefore recommended to Dutton to speak to Mr. Andrew, that he would be pleased to write immediately to Hughes to undertake the mantle affair, because by

some one that shall fully explain it to you: nor can you reasonably hope for any farther steps to be taken by the hand you wish to be employed in that affair.

A proper use has been made of what you wrote about—the D. of R.* [Duke of Rutland;] and I doubt not but in concurrence with what has happened here at home of late, it will have its due weight. I join implicitly in all besides, that Mr. M. [Murray] writes to you, and am with that entire respect that becomes me,

Sir,

Your ever faithfull and
Obedient servant.

The three letters were received with all possible respect, and will have their use, though they do not as yet produce their answers. Indeed one of the persons is at a distance, and another of them in a place where it is not easy for him to begin such a correspondence. The third has before-

waiting for a letter from Mr. Knight, this opportunity will be lost, and then if Hughes has no mind to embark in the business, it will be a very good excuse for him to say that his notice was too short, that all friends were dispersed and gone to the country, and so it was out of his power to do what he might perhaps have accomplished, had he been wrote to sooner upon that head; whereas by Mr. Andrews writing to him immediately, he is stripped of all excuses but a flat denial.

"It is likewise recommended to Dutton to speak to Mr. Andrew to write a letter to the Lady Peters to thank her for what she has done, and let her know that Mr. Knight's affairs require a further assistance; and another much to the same purpose, to the Duke of Norfolk; and to send with these letters two blank powers for raising of money, one for Mr. Allen, which he may make use of among such Protestant friends as he thinks fit, and the other for any person which Mr. Allen and the chief of the Roman Catholics (with whom he has a good understanding) shall think proper to be employed among them upon this occasion; and the sooner these things are done the better it must be for Mr. Knight's service, and the easier for those who undertake it, since the above-mentioned opportunity of the next session is by no means to be lost."

* See Note, page 10.

hand given such effectual proofs of his zeal as may excuse a little delay in making a compliment.

Endorsed [by John Paterson] "Mr. Rigg [Atterbury] to Lord Mar, received at Urbino, Feb. 3rd N. S. 1718."

IV.

Sir, *June* 14, 1718.

I refer myself to Mr. Morpeth [James Murray] for an account of the delay I have been guilty of in answering those Letters which I have at different times received, and about which I have always freely communicated my thoughts to him, who wrote more constantly. At the same time I beg leave to lay hold of a passage in one of them* wherein the Writer is pleased in the most obliging manner to say that, "where the Heart and Actions speak plainly and effectually, even a long silence needs no Apology." I humbly thank him for that, and an hundred other instances of his goodness, which have made impressions upon me too deep to be ever effaced. I can truly add, that I was so afflicted by a reflection on one of the chief subjects of those letters (relating to some supposed differences, and, as far as I am concerned, real mistakes); that I had not heart to take up my pen for some time, and chose rather to stay till that matter had cleared up itself a little, than to make any attempt on my side to clear it; being entirely in the dark as to the occasion of it. Permit me, Sir, to say, with the greatest truth and earnestness, that as I have nothing at heart but the service of the Cause, so I will never give into any measures that may weaken it. I will do all in my power to hinder or extinguish jealousies, but will never do any thing to raise or inflame them. I have but one point in view; and whatever tends to that

* In the same letter, in which James desires to have the Bishop's ad-

shall be embraced by me; and whoever promotes it shall be sure of my approving his conduct, and endeavouring to make all others approve it, as far as I am able. And should any contrary Report ever reach your ear, from what hand soever it may come, do me the justice, Sir, to believe, that it is impossible to be true. Were I nearer the scene of these little Differences and the persons who have their shares in them, I would give more convincing proofs of what I say: at present I can go no farther than professions: time and opportunity must clear the truth of them.*

Mr. Morpeth has removed my fears, in relation to the state of your health. I pray God for the continuance of it: and say nothing to you, Sir, on another melancholy

vice in the affair of the Cap. The whole passage is as follows: "Your long silence wanted no apology, where the heart and actions speak so plainly and effectually letters become less necessary, as agreeable as they are and always will be to me, both by their Author and their style."

* James had an impression that Atterbury entertained a feeling inimical to Lord Mar, and wished him removed. This arose from the perusal of some letters that had been forwarded to him by Dillon, "not from Atterbury himself, but from one he trusted," by which, says James, "it is impossible not to conclude that your diffidence of Martel is very great, if your true sense be transmitted of which, I own, I doubt." In this lengthy communication, which both by its language and sentiments does honour to the writer, James acknowledges "with shame and regret, that there were but too many persons at Altena [Avignon], about Peter, [James himself] who, though they professed friendship for him, as it was their interest so to do, yet they were imbrued with very odd principles, not unlike those of Mr. Wall [the Whigs], and who acted as if they designed to breed discord amongst all of us;" and having given this information, he proceedes strenuously to defend Lord Mar from the aspersions of these people, "who had blackened his character to the last degree." From a perusal however of a subsequent letter from Atterbury, he had reason to believe that his impression was a wrong one, and he therefore wrote again to the Bishop, saying, that he "was truly pleased to find by a late letter I saw of your's to Martel, that my Letter of the [7th] January, was useless enough. However, I do not repent the writing of it, since by it, you will have known my sentiments on some points, while you will have seen the justice I did to you in being persuaded that some things I had heard were grounded on mistakes."

subject,* because your experience of such repeated misfortunes, has I am sure, perfectly taught you to bear them. And yet having thoroughly persuaded myself of this Principle—that every thing which happens to us is for the best, I doubt not but it will be verified in the event, even as to this particular.

Your resolutions as to Steel [St. Germains] which you were pleased some time ago to communicate, had my entire approbation, if it be fit for me to use that word: for I could not but see that the indiscretion of some well meaning persons from that quarter, had been attended with ill consequences.†

* The loss of his mother, Mary of Modena, second wife of King James II.

† In the early part of this year James had reason to be dissatisfied with some of those about the Queen-Mother at St. Germains; and more particularly with L. Inese, a Romish priest, who, in making a French translation of a letter sent from the Pretender to the Rev. Charles Leslie, and through him to the whole body of the Protestant Clergy, had put a false interpretation on certain passages, which might, in James's estimation, tend materially to injure him with his friends in England. For this and for other reasons hinted at in a letter to the Duke of Ormonde, he determined to put Inese aside; and a copy of the letter which he had thus forwarded to the Duke, was sent to Atterbury that he also might be aware of the circumstance. In this letter James observes "I must confess to you that I never much admired Mr. Steel's proceedings: I am now quite surfeited of them, and that, barr Androw [his mother], I do not desire to have any more to do with them. Their principles and notions and mine are very different; former mistakes are fresh in my memory, and the good education I had under Anthony [his mother] not less; so that I am not at all fond of the wayes of those I have so long lived with, nor in the least imposed on by their wayes or reasonings."

The order for discontinuing Father Inese, was forwarded to Dillon, who in a letter to Lord Mar, states:—"I had last night your Letter of the 25th February, with the order concerning William [Inese]. I have executed your commands as to the last point, and can affirm with truth, that Mr. Jamieson [Inese] received them in the most dutiful and submissive manner. I presume, Mr. Knight [the king], will be informed of what William writes to Martell [Lord Mar], on this account." Dillon's statement of the manner in which the communication conveying James's orders was received, is borne out by Father Inese's own letter to Lord Mar, in which he says:—"I find not only that it is the King's intention that I should be concerned

Of the affair of the Cap,* I freely delivered my opinion to Morpeth as soon as I had notice of it: My wishes in that case sprung from a peculiar tenderness I have as to every thing that may give a check to the zeal of any of

no more in his affairs, but (which is much more sensible to me), that his Majesty is offended with me. As it might therefore look like want of respect in me to presume to write myself to his Majesty, whilst I am so unhappy as to be any ways under his displeasure; I must therefore beg the favour of your Grace, to assure the King from me, that it is a most sensible trouble and grief to me, to find that his Majesty is offended with me; but that as to his orders for laying me aside, and that I should meddle no more, I think them just and reasonable, and shall obey them faithfully and punctually; not doubting but this change will turn to the advantage of his Majesty's affairs, as it will to my quiet and satisfaction. Your Grace may easily believe, that I might have some things to say for myself upon this occasion; but the profound respect and duty I owe to his Majesty hinders me from offering anything but the assurance of my entire submission. The King is master, and I, having the honour to be both his subject and his servant, think myself doubly obliged, simply to obey his Majesty's orders, without saying any thing for myself."

* This alludes to a privilege, exercised by Sovereigns of the Romish faith, of recommending a person to the Cardinalate. It had been intimated to James that the time drew near when it would fall to his turn to use this privilege; but entertaining, it would seem, some doubt as to the effect his exercise of it might have on his interests in England, he, both personally and by the Earl of Mar, sought the advice of Atterbury. The Pretender's Letter is dated December 15, 1717, and in it he states that "Francis [the Duke of Mar] writes to you in relation to a certain Cap, about which I should be glad to have your advice. I should think Henry [England] would not much regard such a trifle and that it could not be of any ill consequence, it being a thing in course, and what would be looked on as a slight by others in my station, if they exercised not that privilege; but after that, Henry's disposition must decide; for however unreasonable he may be in indifferent things, it is fit to yield to him; and there are few evils so great, as that of disgusting of him. I shall expect your answer on this head before I make any step in the matter." Lord Mar enters more fully into the subject; and the advice he offered to James in relation to it, will be found in his letter to Mr. Rigg [Atterbury] dated December 24, 1717, to which the reader is referred.

This subject is noticed by Swift in a letter to Robert Cope, Esq., in which he says "As much as I hate the Tories, I cannot but pity them as fools. Some think likewise, that the Pretender ought to have his choice of two Caps; — a red cap or a fool's cap."

those that wish well, or an handle to those that wish otherwise. Whatever has been, or shall be done in this matter, will, I hope, make but little noise; and if so, can do but little mischief. In itself it seems a point of great indifference: but there are those, who may lay hold of it, and improve it to ill purposes.

'Tis in vain for us here to express our desires, or opinions in relation to Marsfield [the king's marriage]. We are too much at a distance from the circumstances of things, to be able to form an exact judgment upon them. But we are sure, that nothing would give us a greater prospect of lasting happiness, than to see that matter completed in such a way, as might remove all jealousies and objections, present and future. The blessing of that great Event we hope for can, as we conceive, be no ways so well facilitated, at first, or secured to us afterwards.

And thus, Sir, I have with that freedom which becomes me (because you commanded it) delivered my thoughts upon a subject of the greatest importance, and on which I otherwise should not have ventured to have touched.

The enclosed Letter from Stoner [William Shippen, M.P. for Saltash] has been some time in my hands, and should have had an earlier passage. None has better affections, or greater courage, or has done more effectual service than he.

For what relates to the present state of Affairs I refer myself to Mr. Martel [the Duke of Mar] to whom I have written largely about them; and will no farther interrupt you, Sir, than by adding, that I am, with an unalterable zeal,

Your &c.,

Endorsed, [by Lord Mar] "Mr. Rigg [Atterbury] to the King, June 14th, 1718. Received at Urbino, August 20th."

V.

To the Earl of Mar.

Sir, *June 15th*, 1718.

I ask your pardon for my dilatoriness in writing: but my sense of things (such as it was) being always frankly and immediately given to Mr. Morpeth [James Murray] (who constantly corresponded with you) I thought my repeating it under my own hand might well be spared — particularly in relation to Marsfield [the king's marriage] and the Cap: in both which cases I declared my sense of things to agree entirely with yours, and doubt not but you received early notice of it. I have also waited for Mr. Johnson's* going a good while, intending always to make use of that opportunity — and he is but this moment parting from us. My fault is universal in this respect: for I do not remember, since his being here last, that I have written a syllable to any body out of England. I know not why he staid so long, for it was not at my instance: but I must do him the justice to say, that in the little conversation I have had with him (and it has been, in all this time, but very little) I have observed him to behave with a good deal of reserve and prudence, more than I think, usually belongs to his age, and degrees of experience. He has been far from meddling here, or venturing to enter (with me) into matters, foreign to what I apprehend to have been the design of sending him. If he mistook my thoughts upon a certain occasion (as he must have mistaken them under that construction which is put

* The name which George Kelly, a non-juring Clergyman and very active agent of the Pretender, usually assumed when in England. He was arrested and all his papers seized previously to Atterbury's trial, but by some strange mismanagement of the messengers who seized him, he got possession of his sword, which had been taken from him, drove the messengers out of the room, and burnt his papers.

upon his words) I will take effectual care that he shall mistake them no more: and perhaps I am not likely to see him here again on the like occasion.

My distance from you, and my natural indisposition towards correspondences of this kind (especially at a juncture when so many, and such malicious eyes are upon me) have made me seem wanting in the expressions of my respect: but my heart has never wanted, nor shall ever want it; nor shall any body outgo me in a real and disinterested regard for your character and eminent services.

I have been desirous to know what expectations Peter [the king] might have from any of Herne's Servants; because I thought, if any light of that kind could be gained, I might possibly find a way to make a right use of it. But M. has told me (from too good authority) that there are no particular reasons to expect any good from that quarter. I had other hopes, when I heard it affirmed to me by a Person of Consequence, that you, Sir, had written to Cadogan,* and that he had seen the Letter:

* In reference to this passage Lord Mar, on writing to Atterbury, observes "had I been at Liberty you should not have been so long of being informed of . . . . . the letter you mention from Frank [Mar himself] to Cobler [Lord Cadogan], and of which it had been promised to the last, that nothing should be said to anybody, which way soever he should take it; but now that Cobler has not only spoke of it himself, but also shew'd it, I think myself no more bound to keep it from you and some other friends, and that you may make the better judgment of it and of those kind of people, you'll pardon my giving you the detail of it I hope, tho' a little tedious; and that you may know it the more fully, I have got a copie of the letter itself which I here send you. When Frank was last year at Mr. Laton's [Liege], he was wrote to at the desire of his old friend and acquaintance Mr. Shrimpton [the Duke of Shrewsbury], who is now gone to my regrate, that he had reason to think Cobler had views of entering into trade with Peter [the king] as to the project of Ranford [the king's restoration], and that he believed he was gone over on purpose to make some offers about it, or to put himself in the way of having them made to him; and therefore conjured Frank to take wayes of trying and gaining of him then, when he chanced to be so conveniently placed for it. This was before Mr. Rostock [Atterbury] had given

for though he told me at the same time that Cadogan had shewed it to George, I was not much shocked with that account, because whatever disposition he was in, yet thus he would probably have acted. But since what M. has related to me, my hopes of this kind have little or no ground to stand upon: and therefore our business must be when Perry [the Parliament] comes, to make that a matter of necessity to them, which they will not, it seems, make a matter of choice. And I believe the present ill situation and worse prospect of Affairs, together with a junction of certain interests that may be made, will probably facilitate this Event. It might be so, I am sure, were we who wish it, as wise and as united as we ought to

Frank any insinuation of his apprehending any of that company had views that way, so he was not a little surprised with the proposal, and by what he knew of Cobler in particular before, the trying of him on that subject would never have come into his thoughts; nor did he believe even after the advice he then got, that it would do, but on the contrair, would serve only for Cobler to expose him by it, and make a merit of it to his own friends, as he wrote at that time to the person who had transmitted the advice to him; but told him that ra'her than anything should be neglected in which there was a possibility of an advantage to the company, he would venture his reputation and judgment's being censured for his not knowing men better than to be so simple to imagine that such a man was to be gained, and only desired, that if Cobler should expose it, that his friends might mind it and requite it accordingly when an occasion should offer, which they were not long like to be without, upon Percy's [the Parliament] coming to town. Frank was advised to send one to Cobler about the affair, but that was impracticable, as is evident, so that the only way he had of doing it, was by writing to him in such a way, that it might come safe to his own hands and to nobody's else; but he was a good dale pusled how to contrive his letter so that it might not be shocking, and therefore thought he was under a necesity of making the proposal so that it should not seem altogether ruinous or destructive to the company in which Cobler then was, as well as of shewing him the advantage it might be to himself and his friends and their country." On the same day this was written Lord Mar also wrote to the Earl of Oxford, giving him very nearly the same account of the Letter and his reasons for writing it. The Document itself was written nearly a year before the date of Atterbury's Letter and will be given with Lord Mar's Correspondence.

be. The only danger is, lest matters, by such a junction, should be pushed too far, and too hastily, so as not to leave them room to run in — for should they be utterly overrun, and make room again for Townsend and his people, or any other set of men whatsoever, our condition would be much worse than it is even at present. But these are thoughts of some distance: God grant that our deliverance may not be so far off! We have been revived within some few days with a glimpse of hope from France. Two or three expresses from thence have given the Court great uneasiness — so as to dispatch Lord Stanhope* thither by post yesterday morning. But of this you will hear other ways, sooner than my letter can reach you: and referring you therefore to what I have farther to say in the enclosed Paper, I forbear to add more but my resolution ever to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and
faithful servant.

Endorsed, [by John Paterson] "Mr. Rigg [Atterbury] to Lord Mar, June 15th, 1718. Received at Urbino, August 20th."

VI.

[The following long and important communication has neither date nor address. The endorsement, which might have cleared up both these points, was, in all probability, written upon the envelope, and is lost. There is reason however to believe that it is the document relating "to the present state of Affairs," alluded to in the last paragraph of Atterbury's Letter to James [No. IV.]; that it was addressed to Lord Mar himself; and that it is "the enclosed Paper" mentioned in the last line of the foregoing Letter.]

Since Morpeth's [James Murray†] departure from hence

* See the Notes respecting this Journey on p. 33 and 41.

† The Hon. James Murray, second son of David, fifth Viscount Stormont. He was admitted a Member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1710, in which

it may perhaps be proper to give some account of the present state of affairs, and to add some reflections upon it, which may be made use of, as those to whom they are sent may see occasion.

The open ferment and struggle of Parties, and the outward marks of aversion to Herne* [the Duke of Hanover] and his managers are not (for obvious reasons) so great as formerly: it is certain however that the spirit of the disaffection is so far from dying away, that it rather increases every day, and gets ground even among those who are the avowed friends of Herne, and who begin to see, and say that, in the way which we at present are in, our ruin is unavoidable. The monied men of Wall's [the Whig] Party are not without their apprehensions for the credit of the Funds; which, though kept up hitherto by the art and zeal of some particular men, yet are certainly in an unreputable condition, sinking or falling with every Rumor from abroad — of which we have now a very remarkable instance; for upon Selinger's sudden Journey, and the speculations it naturally occasioned, the Funds fell two per Cent. immediately. Certain it is, that as soon as it plainly appears, that we must take our share in the present war, they will fall much faster: and when they do so, Paper-credit will begin to receive a blemish; every body endeavouring to turn Bills into Specie, and throwing

year also he was chosen M.P. for the boroughs of Elgin, &c.; and was one of Queen Anne's Commissioners for settling the Trade with France. From the period of the Queen's death, till he finally quitted England in April 1718, to connect himself more closely with the exiled family, he was one of the principal managers of the Pretender's affairs in this country. He was much esteemed by James, who selected him as his Proxy for the marriage of the Princess Clementina Sobieski, and, in 1721, created him Earl of Dunbar. He subsequently had a share in the education of James's children; and died at Avignon in August, 1770.

* *Herne* in the cypher made use of at this period by the Bishop, designates the Duke of Hanover, — as George I. was styled by the Pretender and his partisans.

them in upon the Bankers for that purpose, who are in no condition to answer the demands, which will then be made, or even to dissemble the true reason of their inability to answer them. The consequence of this will be an universal stop to all payments, and to all dealings that require to be carried on by Sums of Money. This is the certain consequence, I say, of our being manifestly involved in this war; and the only thing that prevents it at present, is the art and industry used to persuade people, that (notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary) we shall, in the event, get clear of it. The moment that there is 6 [per cent.] difference between a Bank Bill of £100 and so much in Specie, we are undone: and that will be the case in a very little time after we have plainly dipped ourselves in this war, and have made new extraordinary expences necessary, at a time when we are altogether unable to support the old ones. How the Funds are kept up, is a mystery: for certain it is, that even some Courtiers and monied Whigs have silently withdrawn great part of their effects from thence, as the Tories of note have almost universally; and there are few concerned in them who do not think of retreating; and would do it, if they knew how otherwise to invest their money. But they defer it in hopes of having time enough for that purpose, before the Stroke comes: whereas, when it comes, it will, in all probability, be a thunder clap, that gives no warning.

It is a certain sign of the firmness of the Tories, that they sit quiet, without making any step towards the men in power, and live upon the hopes of schemes, which have no great colour of probability in them; but which however, they rather choose to build upon, than depart a jot from their known principles and expectations. The most despicable Party in England now are the Herne Tories, an handful of men without Dependents or Credit, and whom both sides equally agree in exposing. There has been a

meeting of them lately in Yorkshire at the Archbishop's. Hill [The Rev. Ezekiel Hamilton] and Hickup [Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart.] were there, and have laid some new Scheme for the Winter-Campaign; and one branch of it is adhering immovably to the Court at Richmond.

The Breach between K. and P. [George I. and his Son] continues as it was, and will still continue; there is not the least disposition on the King's side towards making it up. He would willingly make up if he knew how, the disputes among his Whig Ministers. But when a scheme of that kind was offered to him lately, and he seemed inclinable to come into it; and at last it was proposed as the finishing point, that He and the Prince should be friends;—he broke through the whole, and would not listen to any thing that was built on that bottom. There is a scheme to get Perry* [the Parliament] at the next meeting, to interpose between K. and P. and in an open manner to recommend an union. But that thought shews only their despair of effecting the thing any otherwise: for that way it will never be done, since he who is at the head of Affairs, subsists by that Quarrel, and must be ruined as soon as it is made up; and will take care therefore by his friends and dependents, to blast such a scheme, and will be sure of all the Tories' assistance towards it.

The differences between Selinger† and C[adoga]n en-

* The real word used in the Bishop's cypher of this period, is *Percy*; but it is not improbable, that in his own particular copy, it might, by an error of the transcriber, have been written as he here and elsewhere gives it.

† There is some difficulty as to the real person designated by this name. From certain expressions it might seem to point to the Duke of Argyle, who was an irritable, uneasy man, and between whom and Cadogan great enmity existed. But if Atterbury's own expression of "this Triumvirate," be duly considered, it will appear that the person intended, was in the Ministry at the period it was written; and this, coupled with another observation in which he speaks of "Selinger's sudden journey," would rather lead to the

crease : should M[arlborou]gh drop, they would come to a point, and flame out with violence; and they would be to one another then, what T[ownsen]d and S[underlan]d are now. At present their uneasiness towards each other is very great, and on Selinger's side is undissembled. But M[arlborou]gh is likely to live (whatever accounts you may have heard to the contrary) and while he lives, that quarrel will be, in some measure, suspended.

However without that accident, this Triumvirate is so little of a piece, that it cannot, I think, possibly stand firm for another Session; even though no shock should be from abroad. The inconveniencies here at home which they labour under, and their private misunderstandings, are of themselves sufficient to sink them. In the meantime, either these differences among themselves, or some other secret causes, hinder them from enquiring strictly into what is doing to the prejudice of Herne, both at home and abroad. Never did messengers pass to and fro more freely; never was the Post, to appearance, less watched.

conclusion of its being intended for Lord Stanhope; and this supposition is not invalidated by their acting, apparently in concert with each other, in the Ministry. That there were differences and an "uneasiness" between them is certain, and was a fact, the knowledge of which had even made its way to the Pretender's Court; for Lord Mar, in an answer written in the name of "the King's Servants" to one of Atterbury's Memorials states that "we have heard lately that Lord Marlborough and Cadogan are fallen out, and that Cadogan and Stanhope are not so well together as the generality of the world believes." And this view is strengthened, if not entirely confirmed, by a passage in one of the Duke of Ormonde's letters to James, in which he informs him that "Selinger is gone on to Ker's [the King of Spain] residence;" which unquestionably refers to Stanhope's well known journey from Paris to Madrid, as mentioned by Lord Mahon. To all this may be added the singular fact, that in the cypher made use of at this period by the Bishop, the word *Selinger* is given as a real name, the cant word for which is *Stanhope*; and the supposition is, that Lord Stanhope is designated under the word Selinger and that its appearance as the name of a real person in the Cypher, is a mistake of the transcriber.

Nobody is hurt that does not throw himself in the way imprudently. Informations are sometimes officiously given, concerning transactions on foot; but no effectual care is taken to discover the men or the measures, by which they are carried on: nor do those, whose peculiar business it is to search into these things, seem at all to concern themselves in them, though they are forced now and then, to commit and examine a person (upon particular information given) and then dismiss him without any hurt done, or light gained by that means. Hearne in the mean time, is soothed up with new pleasures, and new Mistresses. English Ladies and a Garden take up all his time, and his indolence and ignorance of his affairs are more remarkable than ever: and this scene of life is not casual, but plainly contrived for him. Should any accident happen, they who manage under him, have no refuge; their heads must answer for what they have contrived and done; and perhaps even without any formal process of Law, vengeance would be taken of them. Nor would they have any methods of saving themselves, but by a voluntary exile, should they have time enough to get away upon such an occasion. This doubtless they are aware of; for the chief of them S——— wants no sagacity and foresight, but is a man of unquestionably great abilities: and yet they seem to take no single step towards avoiding this storm — none at least that we know of. As the fastest friends of the present settlement have been all along gradually removed and disgraced; so are some of them even now, that still continue in the service, far from receiving the encouragements they have promised themselves. Witness the instance of the Bishop of Bangor [Dr. Hoadly] who has not been considered in the late promotion, nor allowed to succeed even to the Deanery of the Chapel: which the Lord S. moved G. [George I.] two years ago to make void, in order to

bestow it upon him; but has moved and effected that point now that he is in full power, though without considering him.* All hands are at work to worry him: even the Refugees are let loose upon him and Pillonniere, against whom Dubourdieu of the Savoy has written a long and scurrilous book; certainly not without secret encouragement. And I have some reason to believe that Creane [Dr. William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury] will be permitted to hold next winter, that Assembly which was dismissed purely to hinder any proceedings against that Favorite. What all these things mean I pretend not to say, and wish you on your side could unriddle them better than we can here. However facts they are, and true ones: and it is fit they should be laid before you for your observation.†

* On the 21st of March, 1718, Dr. William Talbot, Bishop of Sarum, was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, in the room of the Right Reverend John Robinson, D.D. Bishop of London.

† In addition to what is here mentioned concerning the proceedings of the English Ministry, in regard to Dr. Hoadly and the Convocation, James was also made acquainted with the circumstances from other quarters; and more particularly from information forwarded by Charles Leslie, the non-juror. In a letter to James, written from St. Germains, where he then was, he says:—"Having been informed by several lately come out of England that the Convocation of the Clergy there are much disgusted with George, for interposing his authority to hinder their prosecution of one of their own Members, the Bishop of Bangor, in their own ecclesiastical way, by inflicting their censures, and not extending to any civil punishment: and likewise that some of your Majesty's most faithful Servants, the Non-jurors, have entertained jealousies and fears, concerning the security of the Church and her freedom of acting in her own sphere, as they now see done by George; and one of them having wrote to me that your Majesty's giving the same assurance which King Charles II. gave, upon the like occasion, and your Royal Father, when his high Commissioner in Scotland, by what they call the Explanatory Act, would satisfy all, and go a great way to reconcile even the possessing Clergy to your Majesty's interest, and give them a greater confidence in your Majesty than in George, who they think encroaches upon their right: for these reasons I have transmitted a copy of the Act;" and after then stating his opinion of the advantage that may be reaped from

I should have told you before that the loans of public money lately attempted, come in with a very remarkable slowness: even the Land and the Malt-tax have not been able to tempt men to venture any farther, which has brought upon the borrowers some inconveniencies, and much disreputation.

This being the true representation of things, it may be expected that the inference from thence should be; that such a scene of general satisfaction must of itself produce the event, and will need no other aid, when duly ripened, and put in motion by a proper occasion. But that is far from being the case; nor will all these fair appearances signify any thing, if left to work by themselves. That one word, Adamson [the Army] is a charm, that lays all of them to sleep; and without another opposite Adamson, nothing can or will be done. We may change hands among ourselves, and shift from bad to worse, but shall never get the bridle out of our mouths, or throw the

this dissention, he adds, "If your Majesty thinks fit to embrace this opportunity (which seems Providential,) and please to write any thing to me to be communicated, I pray it may be in your own hand, as before in 1711, that I may have it so to say, when I send a copy of it to him who wrote to me." James was not slow in availing himself of this hint, and wrote a letter to Leslie thanking him for the account he had given him "of the affairs of Dr. Hoadley before the Convocation," and renewing his already repeated assurances of "maintaining inviolably to the Church of England, all her just rights and privileges, ... of confirming those rights in our first Parliament, and of giving what further reasonable security on that head shall then seem good to our people." This letter seems to have given great satisfaction, for Leslie, in reply to a communication from Lord Mar relative to it, says, "That excellent letter has been received with great pleasure and entire satisfaction in England, and it is printed there. I hear not of any one thing they would have added or substracted, or the expression altered, but remain perfectly satisfied with it." It was for giving a wrong turn to certain portions of this letter in translating it into French, that Father Inese, the Romish priest attached to the household of the Queen-Mother at St. Germains, was forbid any further employment in James's affairs. See Note † page 24.

rider, unless Ker [the king of Spain] and Shaw [the king of Sicily] or Otway [the Duke of Orleans] do, some or all of them, contribute to bring about the event — and then indeed with a little of their help it will become easy.

I forgot to tell you that Adamson is very quiet, and we hear of no complaints from any part of the Country concerning him. He lives more inoffensively with his neighbours, than he has ever hitherto done.

VII.

To General Dillon.

Sir, *June 16th*, [O. S.] 1718.

I have a thousand thanks to give you for frequent favours, but I have expected for some time to hear that Mr. Johnson [George Kelly] had his orders to return,* and have waited for that opportunity; and therefore I have not till this moment, written a line any whither, since his second coming. Excuse me, Sir, and believe that this negligence has sprung from no other cause but a willingness to make use of a proper method of conveyance, and a backwardness towards employing the post on such occasions, which I have never yet made use of, nor ever intend. By this time I hope you have seen Mr. Onslow [the Duke of Ormonde] and discoursed him concerning the various adventures of his long unsuccessful journey, which have given his friends here a great deal of concern, and more, to none of them (I can truly affirm) than to myself, for my apprehensions were early of the improbability of the attempt: and under that view, I saw, how uneasy his situation

* From Dillon's Letter to Lord Mar, July 12th, 1718, it appears that "Mr. Ireton [Kelly] came to town [Paris] two days ago; he tells me that Rigg's answers were sent by Mr. Payton's [Sir Hugh Paterson's] channel."

and long absence must be, on an hundred accounts. But his supporting himself under this last trial with his usual evenness of mind and firmness, has added (if anything can add) to the honour of his character.*

* The journey of the Duke of Ormonde to the Czar, which is the one here spoken of, had a twofold object; — to negociate a marriage between James and one of the Czar's daughters; and to bring about an adjustment of the differences existing between Peter and Charles XII. King of Sweden. Both objects were of the last importance to James, for, could they be accomplished, it would create such a powerful influence in his favour, that a speedy restoration was not doubted of. The scheme, from the known enmity of the Swedish monarch to George I., was a very politic one; and, from its estimated importance, it was considered desirable to employ one of the most influential of the Pretender's adherents for the mission. Ormonde was selected, and with him were associated Sir Henry Stirling, a nephew of Dr. Erskine, the Czar's physician; Daniel O'Brien, afterwards created, by James, Earl of Lismore; Mr. Jerningham and Mr. Wogan. It would be impossible to give in the short space of a note, even a brief outline of these negociations; it will be sufficient to mention here, that the Czar did not appear at first unfavorable to James' proposal concerning the Princess his daughter. This may be gathered from various passages in the correspondence and particularly from one in a letter of General Dillon to James, where he says, " As to Mathew's [the Czar's] offer about Marsfield [the marriage], its a stedfast proof of his sincere intention and true desire to unite with Patrick [the King]. He is able and actually in a situation of being most useful. His espousing Mr. Knight's [the King's] interest in a certain manner, may induce others to do the same; there are many and great advantages to be hoped from such an allyance;" and he then suggests " that if the young lady in question be of a pleasing good figure, and of a competent age, in my humble opinion Paul [the King] can find none more suitable to his rank, or that can contribute more to make his just pretensions valuable." The difficulty however of reconciling two such spirits as Charles XII. and Peter, rendered the negociation more protracted than was expected; and the Czar becoming uneasy at Ormonde's further sojourn in his dominions, — the latter returned to the neighbourhood of Paris, in June 1718; leaving the prosecution of the affair chiefly to Mr. Jerningham and Sir Henry Stirling. At the time of Ormonde's departure, the Czar it appears, had made the question of the marriage contingent on the settlement of the agreement between himself and the Swedish King. This is clearly shewn in a letter from Lord Ormonde himself to Mar, where, in reference to some of Sir H. Stirling's communications, he observes, " they shew that there is no likelihood of any thing to be done concerning Marsfield [the

Egan* [Sir Redmond Everard] will in person give you full accounts of the state of Affairs here; and I shall add some reflections of my own in a separate paper, which you will please to communicate to Mr. Onslow [the Duke of Ormonde] and to nobody else. A duplicate of it goes by this packet† to Mr. Knight, [the King] so that you need not give yourself the trouble of copying it for him. We are surprised at

marriage] in Colman's [the Czar's] family without an agreement between him and the King of Sweden. Those copyes give but little hopes of the Czar's two nieces [who] as I am informed, are very beautiful young Princesses and have very good characters. Simon [the Duke of Ormonde] wishes with all his hearte, that the King could have one of them, but Samuel [the Duke of Ormonde] cannot but think there is the same difficulty in this, as is mentioned for the daughter." In the same letter after expressing his surprise that the passports, which had been granted for his return, had not reached him, he observes, " I cannot imagine why they are not sent; I wish that the Czar's delaying to send the Passes may be occasioned by changing of his mind in being willing to agree with the King of Sweden on easier terms. Colman's [the Czar's] daughter is too young [and] there are some things which Simon [the Duke of Ormonde] mentioned concerning that affair that I fancy Paule [the King] would not like, had the age [she was only thirteen] been proportionable." Could he have brought his negociations to bear in reference to the adjustment of the differences between the Czar and the King of Sweden, so as to be able to calculate upon the necessary assistance, he was empowered to offer the Czar, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, to be paid within a stated time after James' restoration.

* Sir Redmond Everard appears to have been a very active and confidential Partisan of the exiled family; intimately acquainted with Atterbury; and a particular friend of the Duke of Ormonde; to meet whom on his return from the Northern mission mentioned in the preceding note, he went, as may be gathered from several passages in Dillon's letters, at this time to Paris.

† That portion of the contents of " this Packet " intended for the Pretender and Lord Mar, were forwarded by Dillon, on the 2nd of August, on which day he writes to James stating " Mr. Rigg's cargo which I address to Martell, arrived here only the 26th July. I enclose his Letter to me, with it, dated the 16th June." It is a great misfortune that both the " separate paper," mentioned in this paragraph, and " the memorial" stated, in the latter part of the Letter to be enclosed, have not been discovered; although the receipt of them was acknowledged by Mar, on the 20th of August.

the sudden resolution here taken to send Lord Stanhope,*

* Dillon, in a passage of one of his letters to Lord Mar, leads us to infer that Stanhope's sudden journey was not altogether undertaken on account of Alberoni's warlike preparations, as generally stated and believed: but that one chief reason of the uneasiness of the English government, arose from the adjustment of the long pending differences between the Czar and Charles XII., the result of which, it was anticipated, would lead to an attempt to place the Pretender on the throne of England. "I can now assure you," he observes "that Otway [the Regent of France] had an account from his factor near Gregory [the King of Sweden] that Mathew [the Czar] and Kemp [the King of Sweden] have adjusted affairs to mutual satisfaction, and I am told by a friend whom I believe well informed, that 419 [the King of Prussia] will have a share in the bargain, to the exclusion of Bernard [the Duke of Hanover] and Knox [the King of Denmark]. This Vetch [Union] gives great umbrage to the present Grahame [Government] with Evans [in England], and is in no way pleasing to Thomas [the Regent] considering his present views, and how far he is plunged into Herne's [the Duke of Hanover's] measures; neither is it doubted but 4. k i o b u a q y k [Stanhope's] mission here is in order to secure Mr. Trently [the triple Alliance] from any attaint, and to press the conclusion of the 5. r i p m q i a s z . p s s u p e n z [quadruple Alliance] with all his might. 243 [The States of Holland] have not yet consented to the latter, tho' no means was left untry'd to induce them to comply; you may be sure their final result will be strongly required in this crisis, so that in all appearance we shall soon know the issue of this important affair. A true friend assured me that 6. r l q d x c o m [Stanhope] desires with great instance to have the Port of Toulon for Miss Farmer's [the English fleet] use, and you may depend upon it that 456 [the Regent] was forced to pay three millions french [money] before she parted from her own home."

A few days later he writes again to Lord Mar stating "I am possitively assured by a friend well informed that 3. i h n a t p o x [Stanhope] has obtained all he could wish or desire from Thomas [the Regent] in order to maintain the 4. b y h i l o r t i e [neutrality] of Jassin [Italy], and that Otway [the Regent] has concluded a new Treaty for that purpose. You may depend upon his being so far plunged into Bernard's measures that he will comply with whatever is required for their mutual interest. 520. 109. of 457 [the Council of Regency] has no share in this matter, and Darnby [the Marechal d' Huxelles] refused to sign Trent [the Treaty], though his doing so as prime minister is a necessary form, which was always practised in like occasions." And all this information is repeated in a letter to Atterbury, July 13, with this addition "After all this I must tell you that Toby's [the Regent's] natural temper is very much inclined to variation. You know his particular views and what

and judge, that the expresses upon expresses, which have been of late received here, must contain matter of great uneasiness to Herne's [the Duke of Hanover's] people, and are willing to hope from thence, that Otway [the Regent] may have entertained resolutions of altering his conduct, and taking his part in good earnest in the concerted Scheme; which though it may distress us extremely, yet will scarce produce the event desired, without his particular concurrence and assistance. However, as it is possible it may do without him, methinks, he judges ill of his own interest if he does not resolve to have an hand in it. We are at a gaze in these matters, and hope the mist will soon clear up to our advantage, and shall impatiently expect some account of the steps taken, or likely to be taken in this matter especially since we apprehend, that if Otway [the Regent] in good earnest mixes in this affair, the old scheme of your going towards Jassin [Italy] may take place,* and put us upon new methods of

he aims at, but, in my opinion, if he saw good appearance on the contrary side, he would be soon brought to change his mind. Dutton's [Dillon's] long acquaintance with him may in some manner authorise this inference, tho' in all cases what he believes can contribute most to his stedfast object, will be the prevailing argument." Thinking it however likely that these negociations and the other measures of the English Government, would bring on a rupture with Spain, he further observes in a postscript, dated the 16th, "I refer to my honoured friend's due consideration, what measures may be most proper to be taken in this emergency. If there be a formal rupture between Evans [England] and Sorrell [Spain], (as most people think there will) surely Ker [the King of Spain] cant have better or safer play than to take Peter [the King] by the hand. If the affairs in the North be adjusted, as believed here, we may reasonably hope such an Union will be advantageous to Mrs. Hpommoc [the King] whose present situation requires the advice of her true friends, among whom she counts on Mr. Rigg to be one of the most stedfast." See also the Note * on p 46.

* It is seemingly in allusion to this passage that Dillon in his Letter to the Bishop, July 16th, says "Mrs. Ireton [George Kelly] told me that you apprehended my being gone from this place [Paris]; but you may be sure that I'll take no resolution of that kind without giving you previous notice."

correspondence; but of this we shall soon hear from you. In the mean time referring you as to what I have farther to say of public affairs to the Memorial enclosed, I will add only in relation to Mrs. Johnson [George Kelly], that her behaviour here has been very prudent, and much to my satisfaction, and such as I think no just exception can be taken against. And thus much I have thought myself obliged to say in those Packets, which accompany these, and which you are desired to forward; for I declare to you I never met a person of her age, that conducted herself with more waryness and prudence.*

The great subject of your former obliging letters being, since Onslow's [the Duke of Ormonde's] return, no longer a matter of great concern to us, I forbear to trouble you with my reflections upon them. Our thoughts and eyes at present are turned another way: pray God it may be to more purpose!

Please to forward the enclosed to Mr. White, and to believe me with sincere and great respect to be,

Sir,

Your obedient

and faithful Servant,

YOUNG.

Endorsed [by John O'Brien] "Mr. Rigg's letter to Dutton of the 16th June, O. S. 1718."

* I see by Rigg's [letter] that he is satisfied with Mrs. Johnson, and since he is so, I have nothing to say against him more than Peter has, it being only on Rigg's account that there was any exceptions by them, to him. Rigg should know that matter best, but sure I am, the accounts he gave what Rigg should have said to him, and Rigg's own letters on these subjects, which are all still extant, do not agree; but since Rigg is pleased, so am I." — Lord Mar to Dillon, Sept. 10, 1718.

VIII.

To General Dillon.

Sir, *July 13th*, [O. S.] 1718.

Yours of July 13 and 16, N. S. were brought me hither by the person under whose cover they came, yesterday. I wonder you had not mine before the writing of yours, for I wrote on this day month, and it went away as Allen* [Lord Arran] assured me, on Friday was three weeks: and 'tis above a week ago that he received an account of its being arrived on the other side of the water. Long before this time it has reached you, I suppose. There is nothing in it that will give you any new lights as to matters here, but all tends still to assure you of what I have always said, that you can have no reasonable expectations from hence; and that though nine in ten of the kingdom do most certainly wish well, they will wish only, without stirring a step towards what they wish, unless a body of foreign troops comes to our relief, of which I find now there is no reasonable hope: for I fear Spain, should there

* Charles Butler, Earl of Arran, second son of Thomas, Earl of Ossory, who died before his father, James, first Duke of Ormonde. He was born September 4, 1671; made, by King William, a Lord of the Bed-chamber, Colonel of a regiment of horse, and elevated to the peerage of Ireland, March 8, 1693, as Baron of Cloughgrenan, Viscount of Tulloch and Earl of Arran; and to the peerage of England as Lord Butler of Weston. It was imagined that all the honours of his brother James, second Duke of Ormonde, had been forfeited under the act of attainder passed against him by the English parliament; but it being subsequently decided, that no proceeding of the English legislature could affect Irish dignities, he was, in virtue of that decision, really the fourteenth Earl and third Duke and Marquis of Ormonde, although he never enjoyed, assumed, or was aware of possessing those dignities. By an act passed in June, 1721, he was allowed to purchase the estates which had been forfeited on his brother's attainder. He died December 17, 1758, leaving no issue.

be an open rupture between us, and should they have a reserve of troops at the Groyne,* as our papers tell us they have, will scarce venture them upon so hazardous a service: though, in my conscience, if Evans [England] and Sorrell [Spain] must quarrel, and those troops could be sent over before Frazer [France] interposed, they would do the work. It is not easy to persuade Sorrell of this, especially if Frazer has engaged to act offensively, who has opportunities of soon crushing such an enterprise. But if he could be wrought upon not to make an early use of them, I am satisfied the design would succeed. However, since Otway [the Regent of France] has gone so far, he will certainly go farther, till a new situation of Affairs, or a different view he shall take of them, convinces him, it is his interest to change his measures. What I have to say in this case (and I say it very sincerely, and wish it could be effectually said to him) is, that if ever our great turn be effected without him, he is undone, for the enmity of Evans [England] which he will in that case deserve and have, added to the other prejudices and disadvantages he lies under, will certainly turn the scale against him: nor can he support himself any ways against the weight of the opposition which will then press npon him. But it is in vain to talk this language. Cracked† Titles will look upon each other as their most natural support, and will act accordingly, still on, till they are both dashed against each other, and broken in pieces: and that sooner or later, will be the case, however Otway may please himself with short-lived expedients that have no true solid wisdom at the bottom of them. Should

* Corunna, a sea-port town of Spain, sometimes so called by English sailors.

† The cypher is 9. r c t r y q a z a x p b which, by the key, is clearly made out as above. Paterson, however, has evidently mistaken c for e and decyphered it c pack'd — an unintelligible word as applied in this sentence.

Peter [the king] gain his point, the case is plain against Otway; should he not, the plain consequence is, that B. [the Elector of Hanover] would be secure: and the moment he is so, or thinks himself so, a rupture between Evans and Frazer will ensue. The spirit of the people, and Evans's interest will conspire to bring on that event, which Otway, probably, will endeavour to hinder by so managing the support of B., as not to render him too secure, but still under a necessity of courting Otway's alliance. Experience tells us that those fine spun Policies often end in a sudden and irretrievable mistake. But of this, they, whose interest is concerned, will think they judge best, and will act accordingly. I depend upon it that they will do so: and therefore crave pardon for these idle (though well meant) suggestions. What I have to add is, that if Sorrell [Spain] and Shawe [Sicily] are so far engaged that they cannot retreat; so that there must be an open rupture between them and Evans, that rupture is the next thing we have to wish to Otway's not having entered into new engagements with Knight [the king], for even that rupture will distress Evans so, as to produce in the event great consequences: especially if the Northern Powers* (now said to be agreed) should join their strength

* The opinion advanced in the note on Stanhope's sudden journey (see page 41,) that the state of the negociations between the King of Sweden and the Czar, was one principal cause of his leaving England, seems confirmed by a passage in one of Dillon's letters to the Bishop, in which, after giving him the information relative to the adjustment of the differences between those potentates, he says "I am told that the latter [the Czar] has sent a friendly message to Thomas [the Regent], wherein he expresses much kindness, and desires, with great instance, that he should not make any new treaty with Bernard [the Duke of Hanover], till he received further information from Mathew [the Czar himself]. 'Tis also reported, that the King of Prussia will have a share in this bargain, and that Stanhope's chief mission here, is in order to concert new measures with Otway [the Regent] for securing Herne's [the Duke of Hanover's] interest abroad and at home." The interest of King George I. who is designated in the above extract under the names of

to make any impression on B.'s territories on the Continent; and by that means hinder Elmore [the Emperor] (though he should be released from his present war with the Porte) from directing all his force towards Jassin [Italy]. But I suppose the scheme is, by force* or persuasions, to stop the course of Ker [the king of Spain] and to assure him still of safe and honourable terms (by the intervention of Evans) notwithstanding the push he may have made, and the lengths he may have gone, towards making an open and lasting quarrel unavoidable; and for aught I know such a scheme may succeed, and then we are (for a time at least) without all hopes of remedy. However, in that case, we must firmly and quietly persevere and wait for new opportunities, when it shall please God to send them. Egan [Sir Redmond Everard] has written two or three times hither, and I have had an account of his letters from those to whom he sent them; and so I have had of a late one from Morpeth [James Murray] wherein he says he is gone upon a journey

Bernard and Herne, was to retain possession of the territories of Bremen and Verden, which he had obtained by treaty from Frederick IV. of Denmark, and which it was the determination of Charles XII. to re-annex to the crown of Sweden. The known partiality of George I. for his German dominions, will at once account for the energy displayed on an occasion when he supposed (and rightly) that the coalition, if completed, would render the possession of the above portion of them extremely insecure.

* A large portion of this letter is in cypher, and of rather a difficult and troublesome character; which, added to a mistake of the bishop, seems to have puzzled John Paterson, the decypherer, to such a degree that he gave up the interpretation of this word entirely. The cypher, as given in the letter, is 5. o f y b r n z, and, on the place where it is written, there appears to have been an erasure, so that the letter y, being somewhat bleared, may easily have been taken for g, which indeed it more nearly resembles; and, if such were the case, it would at once account for Paterson's difficulty, for nothing intelligible could have been made from it. Added to this, Atterbury must have materially increased the decypherer's perplexity by inserting the letter r instead of q, which is placed over it in the key as the equivalent etter, and should have been taken instead.

of business for six weeks, but is not at liberty to tell us the design of it.*

* Murray left England in April 1718, and on the 25th of that month departed from Paris to join the Pretender at Urbino, who, almost immediately after his arrival, despatched him to Ohlau in Silesia, the residence of Prince James Sobieski, to propose a marriage with his third daughter, Clementina. In this negociation he completely succeeded, and returned to Urbino with the contract signed, on the third of August. Before the eleventh of the month, James had despatched his ratification to Ohlau, with letters pressing the Princess's coming into Italy forthwith. John Hay was sent forward to meet and conduct the Princess and her mother to Ferrara, the place agreed upon for the solemnization of the marriage, and James himself left Urbino early in October for Bologna, from which place he sent Murray and his sister (Hay's wife) on to Ferrara, to make every necessary preparation for the ceremony. In writing to his brother in law, Mr. Murray says, " no body is to have the honor to attend His Majesty upon this occasion but the Dukes of Perth and Mar, Tho. Foster, and myself; and as for other servants I believe he will bring very few along, so Madam Royal may see how much the King is disposed to comply with what she recommended to Mr. Freebairn with regard to the privacy of the marriage. His Majesty approves of Ferrara as a proper place for performing the ceremony; and that every thing may be decently prepared for your reception, my sister and I are to set out before the King, and will certainly be at that place some days before you possibly can. We will carry Michell and the Cook along; and four dozen of Burgundy and Champagne are to be sent before."

This passage appears to have alarmed Dillon, who, ready as he was to do justice to Atterbury's zeal, seemed nevertheless aware of his jealous disposition, and how uneasy he was at the slightest imaginary appearance of a want of confidence. He, therefore, in transmitting a copy of those letters to James, the receipt of which the Bishop here acknowledges, forwarded with them the original letter now printed, accompanied with another from himself, in which he says that " Rigg is already informed of Morpeth's journey, as also others with Evans [England]; but in my next to him I shall take no notice of what he says on that score, Paul's [the King's] directions being a stedfast rule for my behaviour in this regard. Please however to consider if Rigg finds out that any with Evans be informed of Morpeth's errand, that he may think it a diffidence if the secret be kept from him. This is only in case the fact be known to any other in that country." It was however thought to be so desirable, both by James and the friends of the Princess, that the utmost precaution and secrecy should be observed in this affair, probably on account of the anticipated opposition of the Court of England and the influence it just at this time exercised over the Emperor, that it was not communicated to

As to domestic Affairs, I cannot forbear saying to you, what you may, if you think fit, transmit an account of farther—that there are now great endeavours using here to cement a number of men in the House of Lords who, being out of place, may be willing to join together in opposing the Court at the approaching Sessions, and unite the interest of the Tories and outed Whigs in that opposition. I scarce think they will succeed, though great hands and heads are employed in forwarding this scheme. But should it take effect, I see not that it will tend towards

the Pretender's friends either in England or elsewhere. Mar in alluding to this very passage; says, "Morpeth did write as Rigg tells you, of his being to make a six weeks journey, though he could not then tell about what: which we agreed he should do, that they might not be surprised at his not writing all that time, and since we were sure nobody there knew any thing of his errand, his not telling it to his correspondents could be of no hurt." And so essential was this secrecy considered that, although the event itself was to form the excuse for pressing the Regent of France on some pecuniary points, yet so fearful was James, from his experience of the Regent's treachery, of its coming to his knowledge before the affair was finally settled, that Lord Mar wrote to Dillon on the 3rd of September stating that "Peter [the King] thinks it too soon yet for Dutton to acquaint Thomas [the Regent] of it. When that is fit to be done Peter will write to Dutton himself," and adds his Lordship, "I wish it may be a secret in your parts till he does." Yet with all these efforts at secrecy, such was the carelessness or perhaps treachery of those about his little Court, that Dillon in writing to James on the 27th of the same month says expressly that "the affair of Marsfield [the marriage] is publickly spoke of here, both at the Court and in town, especially by Silby [Lord Stair] and adherents: many pretend to have received the account of it from Roberts [Rome] and that their letters import Peter's [the King's] having notified the matter to Pritchard [the Pope]: In a word, 'tis generally known both in this country and the other side of the water." All his precautions however, inefficient as they proved to be, were rendered useless by the detention of the Princess and her suite at Inspruck, by the Emperor's orders. This news reached James at Bologna on the 15th of October; where in a few days, he was joined by Mr. Murray, who thought a longer stay at Ferrara useless. Almost immediately afterwards, James set off privately and in great haste, for Rome, in consequence of information that had been conveyed to him, of the Emperor's intention to apply to the Pope to prohibit his return thither.

Knight's [the King's] interest, which a change of hands here will no ways serve, especially if those who are his friends should find a way into profit and power, and cover themselves under the pretence of serving, by that means, which they would most assuredly afterwards neglect. And therefore still my wishes are, and endeavours shall be, that those who are now in the saddle, may not be dismounted. Probably such a scheme will not easily take place now, when the Affairs of the Ministry have succeeded so prosperously with Otway, and given them credit enough to live upon, perhaps for another Session; and credit enough for that purpose they certainly will have, if by the means of this quadruple Alliance, they are able to deter Sorrel and Shaw from proceeding any further.

I write this in great haste: the gentleman who brought yours being to go from me to-morrow morning very early. I could not part with him without making my acknowledgements for your last, and for all your favours; and assuring you that I am with great truth, and a very particular esteem,

Your obedient faithful servant,

YOUNG.

Endorsed [by John O'Brien] "Rigg's [Atterbury's] Letter to Dutton of the 13th July, O. S."

IX.

[Although there is reason to fear, from the long interval between the date of this and the foregoing Letter, that some of the Bishop's Corrrespondence has been lost; there are nevertheless grounds to believe that the communication between him and James, during the period indicated by their respective dates, was neither very frequent nor very regular. This, in some measure, may be accounted for, by the peculiarity of James's position at this time. In February 1719, he thought it necessary to make a sudden and

secret journey to Madrid, and between that period and the 29th of August, when he had returned to Italy and was residing at Montefiascone, his correspondence is extremely scanty. On the 17th of October he writes the Letter mentioned by the Bishop in the concluding paragraph of the one here printed — the very commencement of which is strongly corroborative of the opinion, that little communication took place during this interval; for he observes "it is so long since I have been out of the way of hearing of you, and so much longer since I have heard directly from you, that you will easily believe how greatly impatient I am for that satisfaction."]

SIR, *May* 6, 1720.

I have little to add, to what is contained in the general letter,* besides particular professions of duty and zeal for the service, which I hope are needless, and am sure will be made good by all the actions of my life as often as any proper occasion offers. My long illness, and great distance, and the few opportunities I had of such a conveyance as I could depend on, have been the reasons of my silence.

I must add also, that I did, upon grounds not altogether slight, entertain hopes that hands of greater consequence, were, either of choice or through necessity, employed in such measures, as would be of most effectual service to the cause: and while those measures were duly pursued, thought it my part to lie still, and expect the Event. But those hopes, since the great quarrel has been made up,† are

* It seems to have been Atterbury's practice to forward, when a proper occasion offered, a Letter to the Pretender; another to Lord Mar; and a third to General Dillon, at the same time. The one to Mar, as James's principal minister, usually contained his view of the state of affairs in England: but it may reasonably be doubted whether "The general Letter" here mentioned was either addressed to Lord Mar, (who was not at this period with James) or emanated solely from the Bishop. It was, in all probability, the same as "the Despatch," mentioned in the next letter as being sent "from several friends here." It is much to be regretted that the document itself has not been found.

† Between King George I. and his son, and by the accession of Walpole and Townshend to Stanhope's administration: which union both of states-

in a good degree vanished: for whatever wishes and inclinations any person in power may still preserve, he will be (if he is not already) forced to act in such a manner, as will certainly defeat them. Indeed the reconciliation, whether of the Principals or those who listed under them, is not as yet hearty and sincere: but I apprehend it will by degrees become so; at least the appearances and consequences of it here will be the same as if it really were. The Union (how imperfect soever now) will naturally cement more and more, as accidents and occasions arise, that may make it the mutual interest of the newly reconciled, to act more closely together. The Tories have now lost their balancing power in the House of Commons, and must either by continuing wholly unactive, sink in their spirit and numbers, or by making attacks, hazard a stricter conjunction between their enemies. On either hand their situation is nice and hazardous; and great

men and princes, as Lord Mahon very justly observes, and as Atterbury seems to have feared, dashed the best hopes of Jacobitism. It is however curious to observe how little inclined Dillon was to take a desponding view of an event which others considered fatal to the interests of his party. In a letter to James, speaking of this circumstance he says " I am told just now that the Regent had an account of George's reconciliation with his son, contrived as 'tis said, by one of the favourite ladys. Its believed this may occasion a change in the ministry and that Townshend and Walpole who adhered to the Prince, will come again into play. There will be no further room for discontented Whiggs to mix with the Torys under different views from theirs, so that all those who will compose the party hereafter must of necessity act by the same principle. The disunion between father and son was a strong argument for some politicians here to incline this court in favour of the Hanover House, and as the reconciliation may render it more formidable to those who apprehend to be at variance with England on account of commerce or otherwise, no settled judgment can be as yet made in regard to the consequences of this unexpected and sudden alteration." And James in reply observes on this passage " the reconciliation of the father and son is a singular piece of news, and from your reasoning on the matter, it would appear to me that that matter may rather dispose than discourage some people in my favour."

prudence as well as resolution, is requisite so to conduct them through these difficulties, as neither to forfeit their reputation, nor draw upon themselves the united resentments of the new powerful party — who, if ever they agree in good earnest, will be more irresistible than they were before the Breach. 'Tis true, there is but little time for such experiments, before the Session will close; and the less there is, in my humble opinion, the better. Ere another is opened, new distastes may arise, and new parties be formed, which may give the Tories matter to work and a foundation to stand upon. The last of these they now evidently want, and for want of it dare hardly, and scarce can prudently, make use of the other. I think myself obliged to represent this melancholy truth thus plainly, that there may be no expectation of any thing from hence, which will certainly not happen. Disaffection and uneasiness will continue every where, and probably increase; the bulk of the nation will be still in the true interest, and on the side of justice; and the present settlement will perhaps be detested every day more than it is already; and yet no effectual step will, or can be taken here to shake it.*

Care is taken from hence to make our condition well understood in France.† Whether we shall be believed, or,

* James's reply to this communication is dated July 6, 1720, and in it he says, "It was with a singular satisfaction I received yours of the 6th of May. Your long silence was not, I assure you, misinterpreted, and I am truly concerned you had so good reasons for it. Your reflections on the present state of our unhappy country are, I fear, but too just and solid. I am sensible you can do nothing of yourselves, and I am therefore putting all irons in the fire to obtain help and relief where it is so much wanted, and while it may be most effectual; and this is, in two words, all that can be said from hence, for I am unwilling to enter into many details in writing. Campion, on his arrival, will inform you of all that is material to be known."

† It seems almost incredible that Atterbury and his party, either in England or France, should have been so blind or misinformed, as not to be aware

if we are, whether the Regent will think it his interest

of the little reliance that could be placed in the Duke of Orleans or his ministers, particularly Du Bois, by whom their secrets and plans were for the most part, made known to the English Government: and this confidence is the more surprising as it does not appear to have been shared, generally speaking, by James himself,— witness his caution in respect to the time when the information relative to his marriage, was to be communicated to the Regent, as mentioned in the note on page 49.

The channel through which it was contrived that the Regent should well understand the condition of the party in England, was General Dillon, James's principal agent at Paris, who seems to have had easy access to the Regent and was much in his favour. What he could not accomplish or feared to undertake, was left to the friendly interposition of Mr. Law, of Mississippi notoriety, whose position at this period gave him peculiar facilities of communicating with the head of the French Government, whom the Jacobites, notwithstanding his fluctuating conduct, still looked to, as possessing the readiest and best means of affording them the assistance they required. It was at Law's suggestion and through his intervention that Earl Strafford, who was now acting in concert with him and Dillon, sought and obtained, about the time this letter was written, an interview with the Regent, in which he endeavoured "to prove to him that the present government of Evans [England] could not be of great use to his interest, because ten to one of the nation would act in opposition to it. 1370 [the Regent] acknowledged that 1481 [Stanhope] had declared so much to him. Then 1480 [Earl Strafford] demonstrated that the said government had not even the intention of being useful to him farther than what would serve their own turn; since they and adherents with Evans formed a province of the empire, from whose interest they would not recede upon his account: he assured [him] at the same time, that it depended of him in raising his finger, to secure Mrs. Evans entirely. I comprehend you said 1370 [the Regent] that is by means of the Chevalier; the other answered, I need not explain the matter farther to a Prince of your penetration. The Regent objected the apprehension of war from 387 [the Emperor]; and declared he did not fear 602 [Holland]. Earl Strafford represented the Emperor's inability to maintain foreign war, and the facility of dispatching Mrs Evans' affair before any opposition could be given." This is Dillon's account of the conference taken down immediately afterwards from Lord Strafford himself, and transmitted to James with an account of another interview the Earl had with the same personage two days afterwards, on his departure for England. In noticing these communications, James observes, "nothing can be more comfortable than the exact details you send me in relation to Lord Strafford, who, it must be owned, has acted a wise and generous part. Mr. Law continues

at this juncture to assert your righteous cause, or will choose rather to temporize, till he has brought all the great projects he has now on the anvil to bear, You, Sir, are best able to judge; and time only will convincingly shew. It is certain, that unless help comes speedily, it may come too late: for that body of men, who have newly increased their capital to above forty millions sterling, begin to look formidable, and if time be given them to fix themselves, and to unite the court and the majority of the Members of Parliament thoroughly in their interest, the weight of their influence, whatever they undertake, must bear down all opposition; and they cannot but be the Governors of this Kingdom. But it is hoped the great event is not at such a distance as to give this monstrous project time to settle. An attempt from abroad, if not too long delayed, will dash it all to pieces, and make it instrumental towards defeating those ends which it now seems calculated to serve. In all events, the directions and management of this great machine will for some time, be in the hands of the ministry, who best know what use they intend to make of it.

Upon the whole, we are here at present, in a violent convulsion, from which great good or evil may arise; according as the juncture is laid hold of by France, and employed to one or other of these purposes. We are entirely in their power. They have great sums of money in our stocks which they can draw out at once, and sink them,

I see, to act his, in an efficacious and solid manner, and I must own that it appears to me on the whole, that nothing but time is requisite to determine the Regent to what we all wish." It was doubtless these negociations or attempts of his friends, that he had in view, when he wrote the Letter to Atterbury quoted on page 53, as well as one he sent to the Earl of Arran, in which he assures him that " the present prospect appears favourable enough, and I hope endeavours that are now making in relation to France, will at last, prove successful, but time will be necessary."

if they please. If they insist on the surrendry of Gibraltar, it must be surrendered; and that step will shake our credit, and shew how easily we may be insulted, if any body has the courage to venture upon us. Could the Duke of Ormonde (if nothing is to be headed by him from Spain) be allowed shelter any where in France: even that is enough to disorder our finances, and throw us into a good deal of confusion. But I will not trouble you, Sir, with more reflections of this kind; being persuaded that you are thoroughly acquainted with the advantages which you present situation gives you, and want nothing but such an assistance as may render them effectual; which I pray God soon to afford you!

I cannot end this letter without my particular congratulations upon the affair of your Majesty's partner, which you have pleased to communicate to all of us. 'Tis the most acceptable news that can reach the ear of a good Englishman. May it be followed every day with such other accounts as may convince the world that Heaven has at last undertaken your cause, and is resolved to put an end to your sufferings.

I beg leave to add that your letter of October 17, 1719, reached me not here till March 19, $17\frac{19}{20}$. N.S. By what accident it was so long delayed I know not: but had I received it in time, even the great indisposition I was then under (and am not yet free from) would not have hindered me from acknowledging the honor of it, and returning my most humble thanks for it.

1376.

Endorsed, [by John Hay] "The B[ishop] of R[ochester] to the King, May 6th, 1720."

X.

To General Dillon.

[This Letter was written and forwarded at the same time as the preceding, and both were accompanied by "the General Letter" mentioned on p. 51. It was transmitted to James by Dillon with one from himself, dated June 15, 1720, in which he says, "I enclose Mr. Rigg's original Letter to me; I am very glad this Gentleman has writt to you after so long a silence. Its certain he is a most faithful and useful friend to Paul, [James himself."]

Sir, *May* 6, 1720.

I have been very much to blame in not acknowledging many favours received from you; but you have heard of my long indisposition, and how incapable I have been for a good part of that time, of all manner of business.

Other reasons have concurred, with which it is needless now to trouble you: but you may be sure, that want of that entire regard for you, which is due to you from all the world, was none of them. Since the first time I exchanged letters with you, I have ever maintained in my heart a respect, that no time or disuse of correspondence can lessen, and shall continue to maintain it while I live.

The enclosed for Mr. Murray, enclosing another for the King* you will please to forward, together with the dispatch† which I suppose will reach your hands at the same time from several Friends here.

The sum of it is to assure our Friends abroad, that the Reconciliation which makes so great a noise, is, whatever may be apprehended of it, imperfect and insincere at the bottom, and calculated only to serve views at the present juncture, which could not have been so well attained without it: but in truth and at the bottom, the party (as well the principals as those who list under them)

* The Preceding Letter, No. IX.

† See Note, Letter IX. p. 51.

are still as much separated in interest and inclination as ever.

This is the certain state of the case at present, and such it will continue for some time, notwithstanding whatever appearances there may be to the contrary. And could the opportunity be made use of from abroad, this is the moment when an attempt to disturb us here, would be most like to succeed, and throw us into the utmost confusion. But on the other side, if this opportunity be not laid hold of by France and Spain, matters will alter here in some time for the worse. The seeming Reconciliation will, by next winter, grow real; and the common necessity of affairs will drive the new Allies here into measures that may be for their mutual interest, and into a closer and sincerer conjunction: and the grand money schemes here projected of late, will settle and fix themselves in such a manner, as that it will not be easy to shake them. It so happens at this particular point of time, that there is no Bank or set of men in the whole kingdom (those only excepted that engross the power and taste the vast profits lately made) who are not to the highest degree uneasy, and would be found to be so in a very remarkable manner, should any thing happen from abroad that might make it advisable for them to exert their resentments.

This is the very truth of the matter; and methinks if it were well understood, might induce those who only can make effectual advantage of the juncture, and whose interest it is so to do, not to neglect it. E. Strafford* has

* Thomas Wentworth, Grandson of Sir William Wentworth, Knt. slain in the civil war July 3, 1644. He succeeded to the Barony of Raby on the death of his cousin William, second Earl of Strafford, when all the other honours of the Peerage became extinct. He served and greatly distinguished himself, under William III. in all his campaigns in Flanders, as well as in several with the Duke of Marlborough, and was at length raised to the Peerage by the titles of Viscount Wentworth and Earl of Strafford, by Letters-Patent, dated September 4, 1711.

accounts of this kind from another hand,—at least 'twas promised he should have them—and if he has, will be able to explain this matter, and set it in a much fuller light than can be done in the bounds of a letter.

1377.

Addressed "to Mr. Dutton" [General Dillon] and endorsed [by John Hay] "B[ishop] of R[ochester] to General Dillon. May, 1720."

XI.

To General Dillon.

[In the following letter, the name of Stanhope is underlined, and that of Illington written over it in the hand-writing of John O'Brien. In the report of the Committee upon which the proceedings against Atterbury were founded, it was argued, from the premises therein given, that the names of Illington and Jones were both intended to designate the Bishop of Rochester. If the present letter were wanting to decide the point, it would be clearly established by one of the Cyphers made use of by him at this period, in which both the above names, with that of Irford, are given to indicate the Bishop. This letter is in the hand-writing of George Kelly, alias James Johnson, mentioned in a preceding note, who was frequently employed by Atterbury as his amanuensis.]

Oct. 22nd, O. S. 1720.

Mr. Stanhope* (Illington) [i. e. Atterbury himself] has

* One proof by which the Committee came to the conclusion that the names of *Illington* and *Jones* were intended to designate the Bishop was singular, and, though of a trifling nature, "lead directly to the discovery of the person meant by those names." It appears that a little French dog named Harlequin was mentioned in some of the intercepted correspondence, as having been sent to George Kelly, as a present for the person so designated; and on the examination of Mrs Barnes before the said committee, she, although obstinate in concealing stronger proofs, and probably not suspecting that it could lead to any discovery, readily admitted that a little spotted dog, called Harlequin, which was brought from France and had a leg broken, was left with her by Mr. Kelly to be cured. That the said dog was not for her but for the Bishop of Rochester; and that Mr. Kelly promised

been long confined to the country by his illness, and has no opportunity of advising with friends till he gets to town, which will be before the end of next week: in the mean time he highly approves the printed Paper,* and hopes some way or other it will be made public. As to what is proposed, He dares not of himself advise any thing, but is afraid that the time is lost for any attempt that shall not be of force sufficient to encourage people to come into it. The losers in this game are under expectations of having their losses made up to them in the approaching Session, and will not plunge hastily into any new hazardous scheme at this juncture, nor perhaps till they begin to despair. Relief cannot possibly come till

to get the dog of the Bishop for her, in case it did not recover of its lameness. Other circumstances are also mentioned in Appendices D and E of the above-mentioned Report; and many letters and extracts of letters both to and from Kelly corroborative of the same fact are likewise there given.

Swift endeavoured to serve the Bishop by turning these stubborn facts into ridicule in a copy of burlesque verses "Upon the horrid Plot discovered by Harlequin, the Bishop of Rochester's French Dog." They will be found in the tenth volume of his works, as edited by Sir Walter Scott, p. 462.

The correctness of the conclusion arrived at by the committee, can now be placed beyond all doubt by a reference to the Bishop's own cypher.

* "THE KING'S MOST GRACIOUS DECLARATION TO ALL HIS LOVING SUBJECTS OF WHAT RANK OR DEGREE SOEVER," a written copy of which Dillon forwarded to James on the 14th of Oct. 1720. In the Letter which accompanied it, he states that he encloses "the Copy of a Declaration in your name to the people of England fitting to the present situation of Affairs. It is a thought and composition of Mr. Joddrell [Lord Lansdown], which he and I judged convenient to have printed and published there, in observing the distance of time proper for your being informed of their confusions and sending back this paper." It will be observed that at the time this was written, the Paper had already been printed, and the dates of this Letter and James' answer have therefore, no immediate reference to the time either of its being printed or distributed. The answer of the Pretender is dated November 3d, and in it he states that "It was an excellent thought of Lord Lansdown, that of publishing the Paper of which you send me a copie. Nothing can be better worded and it meets with my entire approbation, as I am confident it will with that of all that see it."

some time after the Parliament has met, and then the hopes of the disaffected will be kept in some time in suspense, and while they have any such hopes, they will not run any great risques; and an unsuccessfull attempt ruins the game for many years, and certainly ends in the union of the Father and Son and of the whole Whig Interest to support them. The S. S. [South Sea] project which friends have unwarily run into, as, if it stood and flourished, it would certainly have produced a Commonwealth, so, now it has failed, has not wrought up the disaffection of the people to such a pitch, but that they have still some hopes left of retrieving their affairs; and while they have so, will not be ripe for any great venture. Nor can it be yet seen, whether the Grand Affair can wisely be pushed, till the time of new choosing a Parliament next year, unless the forces to be sent were in much greater quantities than is proposed, or could come hither sooner than 'tis apprehended they possibly can. But of this more after advising with others, at present this is the private sentiment only of a single person, who if he alters his opinion upon comparing it with that of others, will not fail to give you speedy notice of it.*

Addressed " To Mr. Digby," [General Dillon] and endorsed [by John Hay] " B. of R————r to Mr. Dillon, October 22d, 1720."

* Dillon, writing to James, October 28, 1720, encloses for his perusal the copy of a letter he had sent some days before to Mr. Illington [Atterbury] to inform him of the steps made towards Seymour [the Regent of France] and Radnall [the King of Spain] and the alternative proposed to Medley [the Duke of Ormonde] for a small assistance in case a greater could not be obtained. In the letter to the Bishop above alluded to, which bears date October 25th, he speaks plainly as to a scheme then in agitation for another Attempt, by stating " I must not omit informing I have some days ago proposed to my cousin Malcolm [the Duke of Ormonde] that if better cant be expected, he may at least provide two thousand men, with a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition. I assured him the Scotch gentlemen

XII.

SIR, *April 22nd*, 1721.

My long indisposition, and the little hopes I saw of being in any particular degree serviceable, have for some time interrupted the course of my writing, though my thoughts and designs have been all ever pointed the same way, and shall be so pointed while I live.

Sir, the time is now come, when, with a very little assistance from your friends abroad, your way to your friends at home is become safe and easy. The present juncture is so favorable, and will probably continue for so many months to be so, that I cannot think it will pass over without a proper use being made of it.

Your friends are in good earnest interesting themselves for that purpose, and under a full expectation that an opportunity may some time this summer, be given them to shew their zeal for your service. They will never despair, but must always think this the most promising juncture that ever yet offered itself.

would, upon advice, repair home with a provision of arms already secured, which would turn to good account, and that Cane [General Dillon himself,] with 200 choice Officers would immediately join where judged most requisite. As this proposal is made in case no better bargain can be obtained, and that it cannot be of force without the concurrence of chief partners—it seems most necessary to have their opinion in so essential a point, and do entreat cousin Rig will please to send it the soonest he can." In compliance with which request, Atterbury on the 22nd of October, O. S. [November 2, N. S.] wrote the above letter, which Dillon forwarded to James, observing, "I enclose Illington's original answer to Chivers' [Dillon's] letter of the 25th October wherein he gives his own private opinion. I am apt to believe it will be the sense of friends in England when they meet upon it; and that essential matters cannot be carried on without some foreign succour, whilst any hope is left of retrieving the stocks, which many have more at heart than all other things."

The worthy Mr. Hanmore* [Sir H. Goring] will be able to explain things so fully to your friends on the other side, who can with the most dispatch and secrecy, convey the accounts of them to you, that I think it as unnecessary as it is unsafe, to enter into particulars, and therefore end my letter as I shall end my life, with vows and prayers for your felicity.

Endorsed " Bp. of Rochester to the King, Apryle 22nd, 1721."

[No portion of the Bishop's correspondence with the Pretender or his Agents during the year 1722 has been discovered among the Stuart Papers, with the single exception of No. XIII., and that, as will be noticed in its proper place, is only a copy. It is, however, certain, from the documents published in the " Report of a Committee of the House of Commons relating to Christopher Layer and others," that a packet of letters from the Bishop, under the signatures of Jones, Illington, and 1378, dated April 20, O. S., and respectively addressed, as was his practice, to James, Lord Mar, and General Dillon, was intercepted by the English Government, and the letters copied; after which it was suffered to proceed to its intended destination. This packet, addressed to Mr. Chivers [General Dillon], was forwarded by Kelly, with a letter from himself dated April 22, " à Monsieur Gordon, le fils, Banquier, à Boulogne-sur-Mer," in which he tells Gordon " there

* This word does not appear in any of the cyphers used by Atterbury as the cant name for Sir Henry Goring: there can however be no doubt about its being rightly applied in this instance, as the interpretation has been written over it by Hay himself. Dillon writing to James on the 12th of May, 1721, says " I expect Mr. Hore (Sir Henry Goring) in Town [Paris] to-morrow, and am sorry I have forgot to mind Farmer [the King] of sending a kind letter to him, though I shall not miss doing what you direct in reference to him. However, these are words that pass, and what is written remains." In consequence of this suggestion James himself wrote a complimentary letter to Goring, dated May 20, 1721; which will be given with the Pretender's other Correspondence.

will be a tall black gentleman soon call upon you . . . . . I must beg the favour of you to deliver him the enclosed." This gentleman, who is designated in other parts of the correspondence under the cant name of *Crow*, is described in the Report as a person named "James Talbot, an Irish Papist, who had been concerned in the Preston rebellion, and was at this time in the Spanish service." From other statements also given in the Report, it is proved that this person received the packet from Gordon and delivered it to Dillon in Paris; and as a further proof of the letters having reached their ultimate destination, there is also given a letter from Lord Mar to Atterbury, acknowledging the receipt of the one addressed to him; and another from Dillon to Kelly to the same effect. The receipt of these letters by the persons to whom they were directed, being thus placed beyond doubt, and seeing that it was generally the custom, both with Lord Mar and Dillon, to transmit the Bishop's original letters to James for his perusal; there is every reason to believe that at one time they formed part of the collection; and it has therefore been thought desirable that the accident of their loss or destruction, should be supplied from the copies given in the Report above mentioned, (imperfect as they evidently are) and they will therefore be found in the Notes appended to the following letter.]

XIII.

[The following does not appear in the Bishop's correspondence as a separate letter, he being at the time it was written, unable to use his hands, in consequence of a severe fit of the gout: he therefore dictated to George Kelly (who "penned it from his own mouth") what he had to say to Lord Mar in answer to a proposal "for joyning stocks with Lord Oxford and taking the prime management of the company's business into their hands." It is extracted from a copy, in Nairn's hand-writing, of Kelly's letter to Lord

Mar, dated April 16, 1722, and is there said to be, "Mr. Jones' [Atterbury's] answer to the proposal for joining with Mr. Hackett [the Earl of Oxford]." The period of its being written can, with certainty, be fixed between the 12th and 14th of April, on the former of which days, the Bishop of Rochester sent his own coach to convey Kelly, who had just returned from France, to Bromley, where he remained till the 14th, when he took leave of the Bishop and went to London.]

To the Earl of Mar.*

[*April 13th*, 1722.]

Distance and other accidents have for some years interrupted my correspondence with Mr. Hacket [the Earl of Oxford], but I am willing to renew it, and to enter into it upon a better foot than it has ever yet stood, being convinced that my doing so may be of no small consequence to the service. I have already taken the first step towards

* This Letter or Message was written in answer to certain proposals conveyed to Atterbury from Lord Mar, through the medium of Kelly. It was Mar's object (at least he wished it to be thought so by James and his party) to bring about a more perfect concert betwcp the Pretender's friends in England, and particularly between Lord Oxford and the Bishop of Rochester. To accomplish this, he not only wrote to both of them himself, but, in a letter to James, strongly urges him to do the same, observing that "the way in my humble opinion to do it, is the King's writing without delay to Illington [Atterbury] .... earnestly recommending to him the making up this new concert, and without the narrow partial views some folks have lately had, which must ever ruin the affair." He adds "I believe you must seem to leave the way of doing this, and with whom, mostly to himself [Atterbury], but at the same time mentioning Hacket [the Earl of Oxford] as one you thought could be of most use in it, and telling him of your having wrote to him of this." He further observes, "I have reason to believe that Illington has now a greater mind to be well with Hacket than ever, and I doubt not of Hacket's being still ready to join in concert with Illington, if you propose it to him; and they two can best judge who to take into concert and measures with them."

Kelly was empowered to open the whole affair with the Bishop, which he did immediately on his arrival from Paris with Mar's letters. These, together with the Correspondence mentioned on page 64, as having been intercepted and copied by the English government, the Reader will find in the APPENDIX.

it that is proper in our situation, and will pursue that by others as fast as I can have opportunity; hoping that the secret will be as inviolably kept on your side as it shall be on this, so far as the nature of such a transaction between two persons who must see one another sometimes, can pass unobserved. This is what I propose, and it shall not be my fault, if it does not take effect. I hope it will not be expected that I should write by post, having many reasons to think it not adviseable for me so to do.

[With the foregoing trifling exception, a long period here intervenes in the Bishop's correspondence; and although there is reason to fear, as previously observed, that some Letters have been lost; it must at the same time be remembered, that in consequence of "so many and such malicious eyes being upon him," his intercourse with the Jacobite party at this period became, of necessity, less frequent. He was, doubtless, cautious not to weaken the opinion that was generally prevalent throughout the country, of his being innocent of the charges made against him; — a feeling that has prevailed even to the present day, and which arose as much from the exertions of his friends Swift, Pope and Arbuthnot, as from his own brilliant and masterly defence in the House of Lords.

He was arrested on the 24th of August, 1722, and from that period till he went into exile in June, 1723, he could have had no opportunity, from the extreme rigour of his confinement, to send any written communication to the Pretender. All his extant or known correspondence with the exiled Court during the year 1722, prior to his arrest, will be given in the Appendix to this volume, and is extracted from the Report of the Committee, upon which the proceedings against him were founded.]

XIV.

[This, with the four following letters, are all that have been discovered of the Bishop's correspondence with the Pretender, during his residence at Brussels. The first has neither place nor date, but must have been written soon after the 13th of October, 1723 (the day on which he received James's letter of September 25th) as it reached its destination on the 10th of November.]

SIR, [*Brussels, Oct.* 1723.]

Having no particular commands from you by your letter of September 25, nor having yet seen the person mentioned in it, I should not again have made use of this conveyance, without business, but that I thought it proper to satisfy you of the quick and safe receipt of yours: for it reached me here in 18 days, Oct. 13, and I believe, there is no doubt, but that whatever else you please to transmit in the same method, will find its way surely to me: for I have great reason to depend on the worthy Lady's* care and fidelity: though I could wish that I had some other sure ways also of maintaining a Correspondence, that I might not be observed to make use of this too often, lest the Chief Person, through whose hands it goes, should be inquisitive: for, though we are unknown to each other, yet he will soon guess whose letters are conveyed under the Lady's covers, should they come and go frequently: and I suppose, considering his situation here, it will not be at all proper that he should be let into the secret. I hope the Person I am to see,† may

* The Person here alluded to, and through whose agency the Bishop's letters were transmitted to Rome, was the Lady Mary Rose Howard, Prioress of the English Dominican Nuns at Brussels. The "Chief Person" through whom she had them conveyed, appears to have been the Papal Internuncio.

† The Hon. John Hay, who had been sent to Brussels to confer with Atterbury on the Pretender's affairs, is the person here intended. James, from numerous passages in his letters, appears to have had a real regard

suggest somewhat of this kind to me; nor will I fail endeavouring to find out some other way, myself, — although as I said, she who has undertaken this correspondence will, I doubt not, conduct it with all possible secrecy and prudence.

The air of this place, which agrees not with me, has occasioned my recovering very slowly from the illness which seized me at my first coming hither: nor do I apprehend that I shall be perfectly well, while I stay here; especially, during the Winter season. However, the reasons for my staying here at present are so many and strong, that the objection arising from my want of health, must give way to them. And could I, Sir, lay them before you in all their circumstances, I dare say they would appear to you sufficient to determine me.* I despair

for Atterbury, and earnestly desired to have him near his person; but finding, as he states in a letter to the Bishop, "that I cannot hope to see you soon in this country, and that I doubt not but you have solid reasons for it, I cannot be easy without falling on a method of communicating my thoughts freely to you, and of receiving yours on all the different branches of my affairs; and in truth, at this time, there is nobody can give me better lights and informations on them than you, — nobody more capable of suggesting the proper measures to be pursued by me, — and nobody, without doing wrong to any or compliment to yourself, whose advice and opinion I lay a greater weight upon. I have therefore determined to send to you the bearer of this, Mr. Hay, that you may discourse with him fully and freely on all matters, &c."

* This refers to the desire James had expressed to have Atterbury with him at Rome; [see the preceding note] and which he seems to have felt from the moment he was informed of the Bishop's exile. In a letter to James Murray, in reply to one he had received from Paris, where Murray then was, he says "you will easily believe how sensibly I am touched with the fate of the worthy person you mention, and that every thing that can depend on me towards his comfort and satisfaction, has not, nor will not, be wanting. I own I shall be extremely glad to have him here." Almost the first (if not the very first) letter written by James to Atterbury in his exile, after expressing his "satisfaction at knowing that he is in a place of safety and tranquillity," proceeds to express his "no small concern in finding you so much afflicted in your health, which, joined to other motives,

not of being in some degree useful to your service here; and shall be ready to change my station upon any great emergency that requires it. And I hope the present counsels and interests of Foreign Courts, may soon produce such a juncture as may render the activity and efforts of your Friends reasonable and successful. In the mean time I am humbly of opinion, that, till something of this kind happens, the wisest way is to lie still; and that all new ineffectual alarms will be attended with the worst of consequences, as defeating the very end they are designed to promote. I add no more, but that I am, with inviolable &c.

There is neither place nor date to this Letter; but it is endorsed by James himself "Bp. [of] Rochester, received Nov. 10, 1723."

XV.

SIR, [*Brussels*] *Dec. 23rd.* [1723.]

It has pleased God by pain and sickness, utterly to disable me from writing a line for near ten weeks last past; nor have I yet recovered so much strength in my hand as to be able to write very legibly, I fear; though I was resolved not to defer doing it any longer.

Mr. Lumnsden* saw me both going and returning†;

may I find, retard our being of that personal help and comfort to one another which I proposed to myself." Indeed this wish to have the Bishop near him, in order that he might have the advantage of his personal service and assistance, is expressed in many of the Pretender's letters of this period, not only to the Bishop himself, but also to the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lansdown, and Mr. Murray.

* The Hon. John Hay, third son of Thomas, sixth Earl of Kinnoul. He accompanied the Earl of Mar to the North of Scotland in 1715; and joined his Lordship in proclaiming the Pretender, by whom he was, subsequently, created Earl of Inverness. He married Marjory, third daughter of David, fifth Viscount of Stormont, sister of the first Earl of Mansfield.

† Hay, it has been seen (p. 67, note) was despatched to Brussels to con-

and I obeyed your commands so far as to discourse him very freely on the subject of your letter, and to let him know my poor thoughts without disguise; of which I doubt not, he has made or will make, a faithful report to you. For myself, he was a witness of the miserable condition I was in, and had been in for a long time. I cannot say, that I have had any one well day for these six months, i. e. ever since I came to this place: so that unless it pleases God to restore my health to me, it will be impossible for me to undertake any thing that requires the labour of the head or the hand, or indeed any regular application. This I look upon as every way a great misfortune, and am more concerned at this incapacity I am under, than at every thing else that has befallen me.

I have not heard yet a line from Garroway [England], nor do I expect to hear, till Enterlin [the Parliament] has brought the company together, and it appears in what disposition they meet, and what turn affairs are likely

sult with Atterbury: but from the expression here used it would appear that this was only part of the mission entrusted to him. It may therefore be right to observe, and the assertion is fully borne out by James' letter to the Bishop of the 31st of August, that Mr. Hay's journey to Paris and other places was merely a blind, to hide the real object of his leaving Rome. James states that "Nobody knows of my sending him to you, not even the Clerk [James Edgar] whom I have trusted with the most secret transactions. He goes on the pretence of settling private Affairs, and to make his mission to you the more unsuspected, he is to stay some days at Paris, and being known to design for Scotland, may chance to be desired to carry to you some messages from our friends in France, which I have agreed with him, he should not decline; but still none knows, nor will know from him, of the real intent of his journey." To keep up this disguise he went, after his first interview with Atterbury at Brussels, which took place early in November, on to Rotterdam, and remained there till the 4th of December, when he returned to Paris. These facts will explain the Bishop's observation of having seen Mr. Hay "both going and returning." On his road back to Paris, Hay writes to the Pretender from Rheims on the 18th of December, stating that "the Bishop has promised you a Letter as soon as possible," which in all probability refers to the one here given.

to take after a reflection upon past proceedings, and some incidents that have lately happened: and till observations of this kind are made, and our Drobs [Friends] have recovered heart a little, I do not expect that they should break silence, or be persuaded to listen to any Grayton [Enterprize], whatever they in Dunbar [France] may think to the contrary: and whether therefore what is designed as to Mr. Lumnsden [the Hon. John Hay] should fully take place, till way can be made for such a step by a Pearl [Correspondence] and persons on the other side apprized, is left to be considered.*

That there is a rooted suspicion in Garroway largely spread, about the management of Affairs in Dunbar, [France] and the light, some how or other, gained from thence in the most important points, by those who use to pay well for their intelligence, I am very sure: and that it has created a settled shyness to Pelling [correspond] in many of those concerned. What Remedy can be applied to the cure of that evil (which is of the most fatal consequence) is past my skill to say; as also whether the cure proposed may not be as mischievous one way almost as the evil

* The appointment of Hay as Secretary of State to the Chevalier, in the room of Lord Mar, is here alluded to. One of the objects of Hay's journey to Brussels, was to confer with Atterbury "on the removal of Mar from any concern in James' affairs, and to concert measures regarding what is designed as to Mr. Lumnsden his intended successor." We have, however, besides James' own testimony to Hay's disinclination to be placed in this position, that of Hay himself, as expressed in a private letter to his brother-in-law Mr. Murray, and in which he mentions the arguments he used in his conference with the Bishop, against such an arrangement; one of which, was the uncertainty whether the appointment would be agreeable to the Duke of Ormonde and James' friends in England. On this point the Bishop gave him to understand that he was in a position to make it so; and it is certain from a passage in Letter XVII. that Atterbury did open the affair to both the parties here mentioned. The Reader is referred to the Note on that passage [page 83] and to the APPENDIX.

itself is another. I have on these heads freely opened myself to Mr. Lumnsden, and to him I refer myself.*

* This whole passage has reference to the suspicions entertained by the Bishop and others, of the fidelity of Lord Mar, through whom it was conjectured the Government obtained the information that led, eventually, to the arrest of Atterbury. Lord Falkland in a Letter he addressed to James from Paris, a few days only (allowing for the difference of stile) before the Bishop's arrest, says, " Since I had the honour of writing to your Majesty, I have been in England, from whence I am just returned. I had there a long conference with Mr. Jones [Atterbury] who is, by undeniable circumstances, persuaded that your Majesty is betrayed by some person of no small distinction, who is entirely entrapped in as great a degree as any person you have ever confided in; who, like a Sir Richard Willis, discovers every thing that tends to your service, without permitting his name to be made use of. I must confess, Sire, I am entirely of the opinion of that worthy person, and unless we can possibly find out the Wretch, it will not only be vain but dangerous to the last degree, for your Majesty's friends to act; for till he be discovered he must necessarily be trusted, and then we only prepare wherewith for him to make his court to your Majesty's enemies. Consider, Sire, what a dismal prospect this must necessarily give your true friends, who evidently find their endeavours frustrated, their hopes quashed, and obliged through ignorance, to trust their betrayer."

"I pressed extremely Mr. Jones to give me his opinion, whom he most suspected. I named him two persons, Jackson [Lord Lansdown] and Musgrave [Lord Mar]; he said God forbid he should name any person without being positive. At my naming the latter he smiled much, when I say'd that I believed him an honest man, and urged* that a pension of £3000 per annum, well pay'd, was seldom continued without some essential service done for it. I could get no more out of him, but that he would search to

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* Lord Mar's pension was discontinued about the time this letter was written [see Report, p. 123. col. 2.]; and it is therefore not impossible that Lord Falkland may have urged this fact as a proof of his honesty by endeavouring to convince the Bishop that if he had really done the government " some essential service" — it would not have been stopped. The whole tenor of the letter, however, leads to the supposition that it was an objection urged by Atterbury, and that Lord Falkland must have omitted to insert the personal pronoun HE before this word, which will give a coherence to the whole that it otherwise wants. If this conjecture be admitted, it may be followed by another — that the discontinuance of Lord Mar's pension was more apparent than real, and done to save appearances: and this opinion is strengthened by a passage in one of Mr. Murray's letters,

My hope is, that all these difficulties may vanish, if a new turn of affairs in Dunbar, makes way for new and favourable measures; of which there seems to be a fair prospect: and on that, Sir, I question not but your eyes and thoughts at present are chiefly employed.

God seems in a remarkable manner to have interposed on this occasion; and such strokes of Providence seldom fail to be attended with great events, quite opposite to the measures which those, who had the chief direction of affairs, had before concerted. I trust in God this will prove to be the case, and that when it appears so to be, it will inspire those with new life and union, who are at present too much disheartened and divided. I think I see some good effects of that great event in Garroway already, and that it has produced indulgences, which six weeks ago were not thought of. A month or six weeks more will probably give a sure insight into these matters. In the mean time I must remain where I am, having no

the bottom of this affair, and not quit the scent till he had found it out. It is certain, people on the other side of the water are, in general, very suspicious of that person, and I believe it will be difficult to calm their minds whilst they believe he is so well with the court of Britain; but at the same time far be it from me to fix it on any one. Some body it must be; the Ministry in England could not be so well informed as they are, by any but one, who is let into the most secret part of your Majesty's resolutions. Idle storys formed from public talk — circumstances laid together, and an account framed from them, may be given to a ministry by every impertinent fellow who has a mind to make himself be taken notice of, or to get a sum of money as Hays the gamester has done; but the advices they now receive are true, just, and what has been the result of your most secret councils and the proposals of your most intimate friends." And after stating this to be "the firm opinion of Mr. Jones, who desired it might be communicated to you, and that until it was found out who the Wretch is, it is not advisable to proceed any further in forming any designs;" his Lordship concludes by observing, "I need not recommend to your Majesty that as this is the private opinion of Mr. Jones and myself, your Majesty will be so good as not to communicate this to any one: Mr. Dutton [General Dillon] knows the contents only."

manner of use of my limbs: and yet I know that till I remove somewhere else, scarce anybody on the other side, will venture to write to me.

I hope to go from hence early in the Spring, if my health and strength will suffer me: and will in the mean time and always, endeavour to be as serviceable as the sad circumstances I am in, will permit. 'Tis with great difficulty I write thus much, and believe, Sir, that you will find as great a difficulty in reading it, and therefore shall defer adding to your trouble, till a new opportunity has enabled me to write a little more legibly.

[1]The cant names in this Letter have been decyphered by James himself; who has also endorsed it, "Bp. of Rochester, Dec. 23, 1723."

XVI.

SIR, [*Brussels*] *Dec.* 30, 1723.

I hope you will excuse the disordered letter I wrote the last week; being then indeed not in condition to write, though unwilling to defer it any longer. I thank God I grow better, and shall certainly employ every new degree of health I gain, for your service: there being nothing else now, upon the account of which, life itself is valuable to me.

I referred myself to Mr. Lumnsden [the Hon. John Hay] in my last, for full accounts of all that had been discoursed between us; he promising to write immediately the substance, and to give a more particular detail of what had passed, at his return: and to him in those respects I shall refer myself.

But something has happened, which may be of great consequence in relation to your affairs; and though it has been sometime a-doing (and I had some reason to appre-

hend it was) yet was it not till within these two days communicated to me. I question not but you have had accounts of it from France and from Spain. However I think myself obliged also to say somewhat concerning it.

The fact, as represented (and I believe, rightly) to me, stands thus: that before the death of the Duke of Orleans, application was made to him for leave that Jamieson [the Duke of Ormonde] should come to Dunbar [France]; that he took time to consider of it; and upon a second application, granted it in a very handsome and kind manner; and at the same time directed every step that should be taken by Jamieson, in both places — that where he was; and that, to which he was to come. One of these directions was, to have the consent of the King and Queen of Spain, which he has been waiting for, some weeks; they being both at a seat of retirement where no body sees them.* But as soon as he can see them and have their leave, he will be moving, having been pressed from Dunbar not to lose any time; and a message also having been sent him from thence, that upon a new application, it was found, that every thing there with relation to him, stood as it did; and that there was great reason to believe, he would be welcome.

* This is confirmed by the following extract from one of the Duke of Ormonde's letters to James, dated Nov. 28, 1723; where however, it must be observed, the impression on the Duke's mind appears to have been, that the permission was obtained through the influence of the Duchess of Orleans; unless he has, by mistake, taken the cypher 3502 for 3501 — the former indicating the Duchess — the latter, the Duke of Orleans, which indeed is most likely to have been the case. "I have the honour of yours of the 23d October, and have but little to inform you from this place; the king of Spain and family being in the Country: but I must acquaint you that 3502 [the Duchess of Orleans] has given leave for 3504 [the Duke of Ormonde] to go to France, but as secretly as possible. Only the King and Queen of Spain are to be acquainted with it. I cannot yet determine the time before they come to Madrid."

The reflection naturally arising from this transaction is, that the leave thus indulged by the first person, must have been with views towards his own interest, and without any regard to yours: and those views might be either the intimidating the Duke of Hanover, and driving him into some measures then upon the anvil, and then after that, dismissing again the Duke of Ormonde: or else the endeavouring upon the Duke of Ormonde's arrival, to deal with him and the rest, towards making their peace and rendering them willing to accept terms from England; which I have good reason to believe has been a point for several months thought of. And on both these accounts the Duke of Ormonde's motions, had Jordan [the Duke of Orleans] lived, would probably have been unserviceable, and mischievous. But I had no opportunity given me of imparting to him my sense of these things: the whole transaction, till it was over, having been entirely concealed from me.*

The case is now quite altered; and he may probably come to Dunbar [France] without being in danger of falling into any of those snares, which the Duke of Orleans had certainly laid for him. All I could have

* There seems no reason why Atterbury should dwell so much upon a subject about which he had no doubt that James, as he himself states, must have been well informed; unless it were to mark his sense of the neglect that had been exhibited towards him: on which point, as the reader must have observed, he was extremely sensitive. In his answer, without taking notice of the implied want of confidence, James merely says "you will know I suppose of some delays which happened in relation to Mr. Jamieson's intended journey. They are very unlucky, but I hope they will not last long; and I shall, in the most private and effectual manner, endeavour to remove all obstacles to what is certainly of great importance at this juncture." In a subsequent letter he enters a little more into the subject, and informs him that "it is now some weeks since I directed Mr. Dillon to ask leave of the Duke of Bourbon for the Duke of Ormonde to come into France. In a short time I shall know his answer, which I heartily wish may be agreeable." See Note, page 80.

wished is, that he had deferred his journey for some time, both that I might have been at liberty to have waited on him, at his first arrival; and that some inconveniences might have been prevented, which may perhaps ensue upon his arrival at this juncture. It will fall in with the opening of Parliament, where the alarm will be taken and ill uses made of it, towards strengthening themselves at home—or it may be, endeavouring to weaken the union of your friends abroad. It will put some difficulty on France, at a time when they are not perhaps thoroughly ripe for it, as having not yet duly digested and ripened their own domestic scheme; nor, consequently, being at liberty to take care of things, that do not so nearly concern them. Nor can the Duke of Ormonde's presence there be of great and immediate use, unless something were already concerted in which he was to have his share, which I do not apprehend to be the case.

However, these reflections (and others that might be suggested) come too late: for there he will suddenly be. And if he comes upon the foot I hope he will now come, and be received there and countenanced as he ought to be, I shall easily give up the little objections I have made, and join immediately in drawing all the advantages possible from such a step, by attending him as soon as ever I have so far recovered my limbs, as to be able to take a journey, which at present is far from being the case.

May your friends, Sir, not entertain some glimpse of hope, that this step may prepare the way for another; and shorten also the distance between the King of England and his friends in England? That indeed would be a point of consequence, and would tend more towards encouraging and uniting his friends, and towards dividing and disheartening his enemies, than any thing else that can happen. I can only wish and pray for such an event.

Providence, I hope, is now disposing every thing towards it: and when that happens, let the alarm be given and taken as loudly as it will, it will have nothing frightful in it; nothing that can any ways balance the advantages with which such a step will plainly be attended. But these are wishes and thoughts in the dark, which it becomes me not to indulge: and I beg pardon therefore for dwelling so long upon them. I hope Mr. Lumnsden stays not at Paris, but under the probable prospect of sending you some news of this kind, which will be perfectly welcome to you.

It will probably be two months at least, before I can remove from hence, should I go on, without any relapse, to gain some degree of strength and health every day. At present I have no manner of use of my feet or legs, though I thank God, I have in great measure recovered that of my hands.

Endorsed by James himself "B. [of] Rochester, Dec. 30, 1723."

XVII.

[The following Letter is written almost entirely in Cypher; but, for James's more ready perusal, it has been decyphered and a fair Copy written by James Edgar, his private Secretary.]

SIR, *Salby, [Brussels,] April 20th,* 1724.

I this day received yours of April 1st. As to a part of which, relating to my conduct at Paris, I have further explained myself in a letter I lately wrote; and in answer to which I may possibly receive your commands before I leave this place, which will be about the time that the Parliament rises; the ways, weather, and state of my health, giving me no unavoidable hindrance.

Though I thought it would be most for your service to let friends in England send to me first, as I judged they

would do, as soon as they recovered heart; yet observing the great uneasiness of the Duke of Ormonde, guessing at the grounds and apprehending the consequences of it, I resolved, for his sake, to depart from my intentions, and dispatch one into England to solicit his affair; and who might at the same time bring me some account how things stood in relation to the public.

The person I sent, returned a few days ago: he has succeeded as to the Duke of Ormonde, and forced a return to his use, and obtained a new assurance of what had been solemnly promised me before I left England; which if performed, the Duke of Ormonde will be perfectly easy. I am sorry to find my conjecture was not wrong, that there was an aim towards working the Duke into compliances, and that in order to it, endeavours were using to procure a Sign Manual to qualify some people to correspond with him, of which I believe the Duke was altogether ignorant, and have therefore sent him word of it. I hope that scheme is or will be broken. The Duke writes with more resentment on this occasion than I have found him express on any other: he is eagerly desirous of meeting me at Paris, and has got the Maréschal de Tessé to interpose on this head; but sends me word, he knew nothing of the applications made in this respect, either to the late Duke of Orleans or the present Duke of Bourbon, till the *yal** were over. I

* This Letter, it has been observed, with the exception only of a few lines, is written entirely in cypher; and Mr. Edgar, the Pretender's private secretary, found no difficulty in unravelling it, till he came to this particular part, where he met with the number 668, which, on reference to the key, he found to indicate the word *yal*: and being, it would seem, a very plodding as well as a very methodical man, he inserted that word, unintelligible as it was, in the transcript he had prepared for James's perusal, and contented himself by marking its singularity with a line underneath. It seemingly did not occur to him, either to compare the sense of the passage, or to apply the cypher in any way with the words in connection with it; although he must have been aware that the number immediately preceding [538] indicated the

am therefore still of opinion that the second (needless) application to the Duke of Bourbon, was artfully made on purpose to prevent his coming, which will be to me a great disappointment, and of ill consequence I fear, to your affairs.*

word *the*. A little further reflection and research would, haply, have brought him to the Bishop's meaning who, it is believed, intended to have used the number 663, which represents the letter Y, — thus forming the word *they*, and making the sense complete.

* In consequence of the extremely favourable disposition of the Duke of Bourbon towards the Chevalier and his cause, and the negociations he seemed inclined to enter into with the Czar, for promoting his interests, James felt very desirous, at this juncture, to have both the Duke of Ormonde and Atterbury at Paris. The former had recently received permission to reside in France, but the Regent dying before he could avail himself of the intended favour, — the journey was entirely put aside by an intrigue, it would seem by Atterbury's language, of Lord Mar; who, it may readily be imagined, was not desirous of seeing two such devoted servants of James at Paris, were they would, doubtless, soon detect and frustrate his schemes. He therefore caused this second, and in Atterbury's opinion needless, application to be made, in the conviction that, of necessity, it would be refused; and thus put it out of the Duke of Ormonde's power to avail himself of what had been already accorded. Needless, the application must certainly be considered, for there is good reason to believe that, if the Duke of Bourbon, on his accession to office, had found Ormonde already in France, he would have permitted him to remain there undisturbed; and it is also believed that had the permission been acted upon quietly and without any stir, even after the Duke was placed at the head of the French ministry, that Ormonde's residence in France would have been winked at; but when Mar's needless, and there is too much reason to fear, designed officiousness, brought the question again before the Duke of Bourbon as a new and specific request, he felt obliged, as he expressed himself to Dillon, " to make the answer which he thought becoming a Prime Minister" in his circumstances; for he acknowledged that he had sounded the English ministry on the subject, and they would not hear of it. In this instance the success of those who concocted the scheme was complete, for not all the efforts of Dillon, (if sincere), the Maréchal de Tessé who was then on a mission to Spain, or James himself, could remove the Duke of Bourbon's disinclination to act contrary to the wishes of the English ministry. Extracts from the correspondence of James and Dillon relating to this affair will be found in the APPENDIX.

The method his friends have taken to make this return (to which they were forced) would not deserve a mention, but that it shews in what a dejected state they are and how full of fears; since they paid the sum to a friend of mine without any receipt, and left me to get it over and transmit it to Madrid as I could; and would not be persuaded even to see the person I sent on that errand. Those to whom I directed him to apply on a more public occasion, had the like caution also, and appear not to be yet recovered from the fright they were in upon the voyage given me. He had much ado to get their sense of things in any point, even at second hand; for their opinion is, that in the present state of matters, their enemies being absolute masters, they ought to lie still till the others break among themselves, or some favourable opportunity happens. This is their present disposition, though perhaps Lord North and Gray and two or three more of whose zeal there is no question, may speak another language.

I sounded friends as to their opinion of a certain person in France, who has had a great share in transacting your affairs in France; and I can assure you, Sir, that they are well informed and satisfied of all that belongs to him, and that no step you shall take towards putting things upon a better foot will give them any uneasiness; on the contrary it will encourage them to entertain hopes of secrecy for the future, for they look upon the chief misfortunes that have happened of late to have arisen from thence.* This I took

* With a reluctancy that, it may be said, does him great credit, James gave way to the many representations of his friends respecting the altered conduct of Lord Mar. In a letter, written (July 4, 1724) to Mr. Murray, soon after Atterbury's arrival at Paris, after stating that he had followed his advice in relation to the Bishop, who justly deserved all his confidence, he says in reference to Lord Mar, "I own I had a reluctancy to tell my mind freely about a certain person, and to write details of his way of proceeding towards me; but I found at last it became necessary, and it is done; and the Bishop will by the letters of this post, know all that is

to be their sense when I left England, as it has been a good while mine. But I doubt not they have had since, new lights in that case, — the Ministry having thrown out several things to justify their rigours, which have led our friends into proper discoveries, and indeed into a fixed opinion, that whatsoever is transacted at Paris, is soon and certainly known in the Court of England.* You will there-

material on those subjects." And in his communication to the Bishop thus referred to, he says, "If I have not wrote you hitherto more fully and plainly as to the Duke of Mar, it did not, I can assure you, proceed either from want of confidence in you or from shame in owning that I have been egregiously imposed upon by him; but from a reluctancy I had (which I am sure you won't disapprove) of writing, as I may say, accusations against him, even to the best friend I have in the world. But as matters now stand I find myself under the necessity, for the good of the cause, to give you some lights, once for all, on those heads, of which you will make, I am sure, the most prudent use, while the being ignorant of them could not but have embarrass'd you in the ways and means to be pursued by you for the good of my service."

* And that by Lord Mar's treachery. The three letters intercepted and copied by the Government, before they were suffered to reach their intended destination, [printed in the APPENDIX to Letter XIII.] were insufficient of themselves, from the impossibility of fixing the authorship of them upon the Bishop (they not being in his hand-writing) to warrant the government in taking any decisive measures against him. How the trick was performed by which the ministry were enabled to arrest, and finally to condemn him, may be gathered from one of Mr. Murray's letters to James, where the whole process is thus described, "I suppose you know the sentiments of your friends in England from themselves, because I have reason to believe that they have declared themselves very plainly and universally on this subject: and as to the opinion of the French, I cannot conceal from you that the Duc de Bouillion said to me publicly at his own table, in presence of a dozen of people, that you had been ill served, and your secrets revealed: but that nobody was surprized at it, since it was known that the person chiefly in your confidence had been a pensioner of England.

"But to come closer to the point in question; supposing that Semple's account of Martel's [Lord Mar's] interviews with Sir Robert Sutton, and correspondence with England by his means, were not to be credited; and that the complaint thrown artfully into the Report of the Secret Committee by the English Ministry, in order to support his credit with you and your friends, were not suspicious to the last degree; and that by consequence, that there

fore not blame the resolution I have taken of continuing upon the reserve at Paris, till I clearly see upon what ground I stand, and what probability there is that the credulity of some men will not be imposed on by the falseness of others. I speak to you, Sir, with a freedom I do not usually take, but which I now think absolutely necessary, and hope you will be pleased to let me know how far it agrees with yours.

I have opened the affair of Mr. Hay* both to the

were no positive proof of his having betrayed your secrets; yet it is plain beyond a possibility of a reply, that the Bishop of Rochester was sacrificed by his means which was surely striking at the root of your cause. For the moment the Government of England had seized, copied, and afterwards forwarded the three letters on which the Bishop was since condemned, as they could not then in any way, prove these letters to have been writ by the Bishop, they sent one Coll. Churchill to Paris to contrive with Martel a method of doing it, and Martel, after Churchill's arrival, and after having had conferences with him (as appears by the date), wrote by the common post that famous letter to the Bishop, in which he describes him so particularly from the circumstances of his wife's death, of his gout, and of his being a much better judge of the resignation we owe to God Almighty in cases of affliction than he, that this letter having fixed on the Bishop the intercepted letters, of which it owned the receipt as coming from him, he was condemned on that evidence, and could not have been condemned without it. Nor is there any room to suppose that this could proceed from any thing but a bargain made with Churchill, because the Bishop had not only forbid positively of a long while to write to him by the post, but had done so particularly in the intercepted letters, in answer to which Martel wrote; and since he was capable of this, can any one doubt of his having betrayed every thing you entrusted him with."

* The Reader will have seen by the Note on page 71, that one of the objects of Hay's journey to Brussels related to the removal of Lord Mar and his own intended succession to the post held by his Lordship. In the very first letter which the Pretender wrote to Atterbury after Hay's return to Rome, he says "As to Mr. Lumnsden himself, I am daily more confirmed in my opinion of the necessity of placing him without delay in the proposed manner; and several things which I have seen of late, will make me uneasy till that matter be settled, because I apprehend inconveniences from delays: but, however, his reluctancy to it as yet, is so great, that I would not as yet,

Duke of Ormonde and to friends in England, and do not find that that step will be unwelcome to either, as far as it can be set forward at present. The changes just now made in England will, in my opinion, have little effected, nor will those they have dismissed be either able or willing to make a breach upon the party. The expectation now is from their sitting after Easter, which was not at first designed, and will probably be attended with some step of consequence: perhaps an Act to empower the Duke of Hanover to pardon B[olingbro]k and others, unless the security they are under and their natural fierceness, should make them think such measures now needless; which those who mean your service must wish may be the case. There is reason to think that when they find themselves utterly at a loss to dive into the counsels and measures concerted for your service, they will take new ways of dividing your friends by the advice of those on whose secret assistance they can no longer rely.

I say nothing of the Foreign Affairs upon which you were pleased to write to me, being so little able either to judge of, or be serviceable in, these matters. I can only wish and pray that your negociations abroad may succeed; upon which your chief dependence at present lies.

The original letter has no endorsement, but Edgar's copy has the following in his own hand-writing "The Bishop of Rochester to the King, decypher'd, April 20th, 1724."

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lay my positive commands upon him, though I hope in a very short time, the accounts I may receive from you will determine me to do so."

These accounts he did receive in the letter here printed, and in the passage under consideration; and we have Hay's own testimony to prove, that they so far increased James' wish to complete the intended arrangement, that "he renewed his former desire with all the earnestness imaginable, and became quite angry" at the disinclination Hay shewed to an immediate compliance. For other information on this particular subject the Reader is referred to the APPENDIX.

XVIII.

[The following Letter, written in Atterbury's own hand, on half a sheet of paper, has no signature; nor is it dated from any place or addressed to any person. This latter point, however, is easily and satisfactorily cleared up, by its being found in one of Murray's letters, with which he forwarded it to Mr. Hay on the 15th, stating that it was the last he had received from the Bishop.]

To the Hon. James Murray.

Sir, [*Brussels*], *May 9th*, 1724.

I thank you very heartily for yours, which confirmed some suspicions I had entertained of a correspondence between two persons, the contents of which were not always imparted to me; though I dare say the gentleman here, never went so far as they pretend at Paris: for he appears not to me to be a person of so vile a character as to invent so gross and groundless a story. I have been so far from saying any thing of that kind to him, or to any one, that I never thought it;*—and whatever discourse I have held with him on points of that kind, has been all

* It is not easy to decide upon the exact nature of the calumny that had been spread against Atterbury and here alluded to, as the letter which Murray wrote to James, giving a detail of the circumstances, has not been found. In one, however, which he addressed on the same day (May 1, 1724) to his brother-in-law, Mr. Hay, he observes, "I have writ fully in the letter I send you enclosed to Mr. Knight, of two particulars, which I don't repeat because I presume you may see it." Such indeed was the case, and from Hay's reply we gather that it related to Clementina, the wife of James, although the precise nature of the calumny does not appear. Murray must also have written about the same time to the Bishop, for the Letter here printed is evidently an answer to one he had received on the same subject. The original Letter Murray forwarded to Hay enclosed in one of his own, stating that he did so "because it may serve to convince Mr. Knight that the last story is of a piece with those which were made formerly." The Extract from Hay's Letter, which clearly points to Mar as the author of the calumny, will be found in the APPENDIX.

built on a direct contrary supposition. And this he has declared before company in the frankest and firmest manner possible. The calumny, therefore, as dressed up, must lie at other mens' doors. Let who will be the author of it, I despise it and them; my actions and thoughts will for ever, I hope, be of a piece and justify each other. I leave that gentleman behind me here; and take another to bear me company in my journey — so that you need not be under any uneasy apprehensions when you set out to meet me. The gentleman I bring is a right honest man: and the servants I bring with me never heard of your name. I add no more, but that I long to meet you on Thursday 7 night, and will be upon the spot as early that day, as I can persuade my coachman to bring me. Till then, adieu.

XIX.

[This and the following letter are copies only; and, as such, were transmitted to James by Lord Mar himself, together with a copy of one of his own to Atterbury that had accompanied "twelve bundles of letters and other papers" which he had sent to the Bishop for his perusal. They are contained on one sheet of paper, and endorsed by Lord Mar, "Copie of Letters betwixt Lord Mar and the Bishope of Rochester, June, 1724."]

[Copy.]

To the Earl of Mar.

My Lord, [*Paris*] *June* 5, 1724.

I return the papers* exactly in the same order in which they lay in the several bundles, and assure you that no

* Mar apparently felt conscious that many parts of his conduct had created the utmost distrust of him, and that it did require explanation. Shortly, therefore, after Atterbury's arrival at Paris, he sent a large mass of letters and papers for the Bishop's perusal, and his own justification; but how little he succeeded in producing the conviction he expected, will be seen by other passages in the Bishop's correspondence. Extracts from Lord

person living besides myself, has seen a line of them since they were in my hands.

Your Grace has my sincere thanks for the pleasure and instruction which the perusal of them has afforded me. The frank and open manner in which you have been pleased to act on this occasion, could not fail of making proper impressions; and I shall therefore be very free always to own my sentiments (built on the lights you have afforded me) that your Grace's conduct in the point most liable to general exception* had, if not the previous, yet the subsequent approbation of those on this side of the water, whose good opinion was of the greatest value to you. And so far, your Grace must be allowed to be justified, even in the judgment of those who see that matter in another light, and have entertained quite different thoughts of it. I think it becomes me with equal frankness to own to your Grace my poor sentiments on that head, whenever you shall please to require them, either with or without any other witness than ourselves. I am with all that respect that becomes me, my Lord,

Your Grace's most humble
and most obedient Servant,
FRA. ROFFEN.

P. S. I need make no apology to your Grace for not waiting upon you: my want of limbs is but too just (though a very melancholy) excuse. My son Morice will beg leave to attend Lord Erskine and own the favour I received from him, and the honour done both to himself and his wife by your Grace.

Mar's letter to Atterbury, which he sent with the papers; as well as from other portions of the correspondence relating to them, will be found in the APPENDIX.

* In regard to the pension he received from the English Government, by which all confidence between him and James's partizans in England was destroyed. See APPENDIX to Letter XXII.

XX.

[Copy.]

To the Earl of Mar.

My Lord, [*Paris*] *June* 10, 1724.

I cannot think of stirring any whither till I have my cloaths from the Douanne, and have fixed the point of a house. Till then I must punish myself by staying at home, let the weather, the company, or the occasion be never so tempting. However I return my humble thanks to your Lordship for the kind invitation which I shall with so much the less uneasiness decline, because I have the opportunity of conversing with your Lordship here at home in those papers you were pleased to put into my hands, which have given me a great entertainment. I am gotten through the better part of them; and when the interruptions of company give me leave, take as much pleasure in the views they afford me, as I should in any of the charming prospects about Paris, of which I have heard much, but shall, I believe, know little by experience, how long soever I may stay here. I had just sent to your Grace to enquire after Lord Erskine's health, and am glad to find by your servant that he is better. Would your Grace pardon my ill breeding, I would beg you to give my Lord Lansdown * my respects, who, I suppose, had

* This letter, as appears from certain expressions in No. XXIII. is nothing more than a polite refusal of some proffered civility from Lord Mar. Bearing this in mind, and knowing the Bishop's feelings at this particular juncture towards his Lordship, the whole will appear caustic enough; and particularly that part of it which relates to Lord Lansdown, who is supposed to have hitherto abstained from seeing the Bishop, solely through Mar's interference. Mr. Murray alludes to this circumstance in a letter he wrote to James, as well as in one he sent to Mr. Hay; in the latter he observes, "L. [Lord Lansdown] has not yet seen him [the Bishop] which is astonishing to the last degree. I fancy Martel [Lord Mar] dares not trust him in the other man's company, and that he has hitherto prevailed upon him not to go."

rather receive them that way, than by any one that is known to be of my family. Though I never observed my Lord's temper to lean much towards the side of caution, yet since he thinks it necessary now, I must think so too, and conclude he has good reasons for it.

I am, &c.

XXI.

To The King.

Sir, *Paris, June* 19, 1724.

I came hither April 20,* which was as soon as I was really capable of performing the journey. I have been ever since confined to my lodging; not, I thank God, through the want of health, but of strength in my limbs, which yet is, by slow and insensible degrees, returning.

I was willing to inform myself of the true situation of affairs here,† before I wrote. In order to it, it was requisite

* This is Atterbury's first letter to the Pretender, after his arrival at Paris, but the date he gives for that event is certainly wrong, whichever stile of reckoning he may have used. It is proved, by his own letter to Mr. Murray, [No. XVIII.] that he was still at Brussels on the 9th of May; and it appears, by the Note at the head of that letter, that he had not arrived at Paris on the 15th of the month when Murray wrote his letter to Hay of that date; although from one sent to the same person a few days later (the 22nd), we may conclude that the Bishop had then arrived. Its receipt was acknowledged by James on the 15th of July.

† It was one of Atterbury's first objects on coming to Paris "to see clearly into what had been done by some people of this side, and to be master of that subject before he wrote" to the Chevalier; and he was particularly desirous of obtaining all the information he could, that might tend to clear up or confirm the suspicions he, and the Pretender's friends in England, entertained concerning Mar's conduct and the pension he received from the English Government. His arrival seems to have been viewed with somewhat of dismay by Mar and those who acted with him; and the vigour

I should fully discourse the three persons* chiefly concerned. Two of them I have seen often. Lord Lansdown has yet excused himself† from seeing me; and though with Mr.

with which he commenced his enquiries tended materially to increase their confusion. "He has been," observes Mr. Murray, "in conference with Martel and Dutton, and will, I believe, be soon at the bottom of these affairs, for it is no easie matter to deceive him." . . . . "I never saw," he says in another part of the same letter, "our friend in better health, nor his understanding more pointed and clear; and it is most certain that he has more than all the Triumvirate [Lord Mar, Lord Lansdown and General Dillon] put together. The air of Paris agrees so very well with him, that he has not in some years, felt himself so entirely well as since he came here."

Mar, with his usual double-faced policy, endeavoured to propitiate the Bishop by sending a large mass of letters and papers for his examination, and at the same time endeavoured to convey to James an impression that he and Atterbury were very good friends. In both attempts, as might have been expected, he utterly failed. James by this time had become aware of his duplicity; and Atterbury, straight-forward and honest in his principles, such as they were, and single in his views, was more than a match for Mar, and not likely to be deceived either by his papers or by any personal discussion he might have with him; which latter indeed, so far as the main points in question were concerned, Mar had hitherto studiously avoided, notwithstanding the desire expressed by Atterbury to discourse these matters over, either by themselves or in the presence of Mar's friends. It was a discussion however, he seemed to shrink from, and, for the present, contented himself with obtaining the Bishop's opinion of his measures and conduct, through General Dillon.

The effect Atterbury's enquiries had upon this latter person, who appears already to have found himself in a false position, but whose honesty there seems no reason to doubt, may be gathered from an observation of Mr. Murray, "Dutton [Dillon] said two days ago to an acquaintance of mine, that it was impossible for him to serve Mr. Knight on the footing he now stood, since he saw the Bishop suspected Martel to have betrayed Peter, and had reason to think that Peter himself was not, it may be, of a different opinion; and that notwithstanding this, he had an order from Peter still subsisting, to communicate everything to Mr. Martel. I mention this to you for the sake of the last part, because if there be still any such order subsisting after all that has past, I do think there is an end of everything."

* Lord Mar, Lord Lansdown and General Dillon.

† This is noticed in a letter Mr. Murray wrote to James, June 10, 1724,

Dillon I have on some tender points discoursed very freely; yet I find plainly, he is under reserves, that his confidence is elsewhere, and that the end of his conversation hath (hitherto) been, to induce me to believe all right that has happened, and to take my share in the transactions, upon the foot they have lately stood, and still stand.* I

where he says " L. L. [Lord Lansdown] tho' formerly his intimate friend, has never yet been to see him ;" he had also mentioned the circumstance a short time previously to Mr. Hay, (as before noticed) who observes in reply, " I am heartily sorry L [Lord Lansdown] should be so cold towards his old friend the B[ishop] as not to have found a way of seeing him since he has been at Paris. The impression any argument from a certain person [Lord Mar] has upon him is pretty plain, for sure his own inclination must have led him to have gone to him."

* It is but justice to Dillon to observe, although Atterbury, and even Murray and Hay appear to have had an opinion that he was entirely in Lord Mar's intrigues, that his whole correspondence shows an honesty and singleness of purpose, that will in no way allow an unprejudiced reader to think so. It is indeed probable that he may have sided with Mar on the subject of the pension his Lordship received from the English Government, which we know he was not ignorant of, and for which he considered Lord Mar to have James's permission, if not approbation; and it will likewise be seen that he was aware of the Memorial submitted to the French Government by Mar, and containing a project for James's restoration as he pretended, for Dillon himself put it into the hands of the Duke of Orleans: but that he was cognisant of his double dealing or had any knowledge of his treachery in the affair of Col. Churchill and the letter by which Atterbury's participation in the Jacobite intrigues was established, there is nothing whatever to show; on the contrary, the Bishop himself says, (Letter XXIII.) that Mar's interviews with Churchill were without the privity of the other two — meaning Lord Lansdown and Dillon.

It must also be observed that Dillon appears to have been honestly and sincerely devoted to James and his Cause; and to have followed implicitly the orders that were from time to time sent to him. In a letter to the Pretender a hint is given of the real cause of the reserve here noticed by the Bishop: He says " Irwell [Daniel O'Brien] gives an account of some close questions made him by the Bishop of Rochester. He has questioned me often in the same manner, to which I answered in general terms, keeping up to superiour [i.e. James' own] directions. I hope however you will let me soon know what length I am to go with this gentleman, whose conversation and company I am highly pleased with."

have told him, that cannot be, and have with sufficient plainness insinuated the reasons of my conduct. These are built partly on what I knew before I left Brussels or indeed England; and partly on the discoveries I have here made from some papers and letters imparted to me by the Duke of Mar himself, as containing a justification of his measures. They have appeared to me in a very different light, and have opened new scenes, which abundantly confirm the opinions I had entertained, and afford me yet farther grounds for them. I have invited him to discourse these matters over, either by ourselves, or in the presence of his friends: but he has not yet given me any occasion of doing it; and has rather been willing to hear from Mr. Dillon my thoughts on those heads, which I have not concealed. The sum of which was, that, whether the steps he had taken, were justifiable, or not, yet all confidence was actually destroyed between him and your friends by the means of them. Of this, I believe he is now satisfied; and, if I judge right, has thoughts of retiring,* as soon as his affairs now transacting in England

* In reference to this passage, James observes, "I heartily wish the Duke of Mar may retire quietly from business, and my conduct towards him is directed by that view. After this, time will show, and I believe a very little will do it, what party he and his two friends will take; for tho' I have carefully avoided for some time past the writing any thing to some people that may be made an indiscreet or an ill use of, yet upon some letters I have lately wrote to Dillon, I must necessarily soon discover what party he is like to take, and what I may expect from him:" but however desirous James now was to have Mar entirely removed from any concern in his affairs, there are many passages in his letters to prove that it was equally his wish to accomplish this point in as quiet a manner as possible. In a subsequent letter to the Bishop, he says, "I am still of opinion that no step must be taken directly against the Duke of Mar, or that has an air of harshness in relation to his two confidents; and without that, I may certainly effectually provide for my service, and sufficiently show them that I am not to be imposed upon by them, nor to be engaged to abandon my faithful servants."

by his Lady are settled. He will endeavour that this shall be done, without an open breach, and without noise; which I wish may be the case, for the reasons I imparted to Mr. Hay at Brussels. His chief strength lies in the subsequent approbations he obtained of his conduct, but their being (almost in every instance) subsequent, lessens the force of them.

My conjectures in this case (and they are but conjectures) it is like, may prove true. But, what will be the issue of the whole affair, and how the other two* will behave upon it, I am too much in the dark to their thoughts and designs, to be able to say. Only thus much, I think, I see, (through all their reserves) that the union and confidence of all kinds between them is at present very strict; and that I gain but slowly (though I think, I gain a little) upon him † of the three, with whom I have had most discourse, — and who has been so far dipped in the measures taken, and has acted with such an implicit deference to the sentiments of another, that, I believe, he thinks it, and will find it extremely hard to extricate himself whenever it shall become absolutely necessary.

I find no reason to retract whatever I said to you, Sir, at a greater distance. If this were a juncture, at which any thing should happen highly favourable to your cause, I see not with whom at present it could be safely concerted and transacted. But I find not that there is any immediate occasion for such a concert: and, as the scene changes, time may better things.

I have no settled correspondence with England, and am as yet incapable of fixing any, so I cannot promise any great lights from that quarter; nor do I apprehend, that there are any of consequence, to be imparted from thence, at present. Lord North I hear, is coming over in a few

* Lord Lansdown and General Dillon. † General Dillon.

days. I shall meet him five leagues off, and know his errand. I apprehend not that there is any thing particular in it. I have formerly said, that whenever the knot here is broken, new measures will be tried, and probably particular pardons or general acts of indemnity be solicited. These will divide your friends, and utterly break your interest: though that has not hindered their having been long uppermost in the thoughts of a certain person: as appears from his papers. They are beginning in Garroway [England] with Alderman Barber on this head, and have actually offered him his pardon here for £3000, which it shall not be my fault if he accepts. They are doubtless directed to such offers by private advices given them. More of this I fear, will appear in a little time. I wish I may prove a false prophet. They find their mistake, I believe in not prosecuting the Act of Indemnity, which they had ever thought of, in the last Session, and will try to retrieve it. The three Ladies, that left this place at my coming hither, have I fear, something of this kind, either in their instructions, or views.*

Of the situation of the French Court I know nothing,

* Mar in a letter to James dated June 5th, 1724, says "I intended to have given you an account of Lady M—r's [Mar's] going to England, to meet with my brother, who is come to London on purpose for that end, to endeavour to put some order to her affairs, how to get us relieved out of our present straits and difficultys here, which are not small, how to get his payments made more regularly than hitherto in time coming, so that we may be sure of something, tho' little, to subsist on, and lastly to see if any methods can be fallen on for getting the Esteat bought for my son, which is appointed to be sold the beginning of this June old stile." In another part he adds "It is likely that you may have heard that Ly L———n [Lady Lansdown] is also gone for England, her son being now of age to make choice of his guardian. There is another lady gone too, much about the same time with the other two, Madame Vilet, which 'tis probable may give some wise folks, both there and here, ground for speculation as to all the three; and I was told last night Lord Bolingbroke is actually gone over with the last, tho' I be not yet sure of this."

but what drops now and then from Mr. Dillon. I wish he himself may know it surely; and then you will be thoroughly informed of it.

I have learnt from good hands, that the British Minister here has made application to remove me from hence but without success. I think, that step was not worth his while, for I see not that I am, or shall be of any moment here.* However I have taken a house, and shall go into it soon, but without obliging myself to keep it beyond six months.

The clergy and laity of distinction (whether with, or without an intimation from Court, I as yet know not) seem cautious of visiting me, at which I am no otherwise displeased, than as it implies their fear of disobliging the Court of England, and consequently their own. That situation sure will be of no long continuance.

When I see clearer, I shall write more fully. At present I am much in the dark, and know not how long I may continue so. However I would no longer defer, what I reckoned a point of duty, though it could be of no great use or service.

* James thought differently. His first wish on hearing of the Bishop's exile, was to have him near his own person: but failing in that, his desire to see him placed at Paris appears to have increased with his mistrust of Lord Mar, whose services by this time he had determined to discontinue. There are many passages in his letters expressive of this wish, and the good results he expected from the Bishop's residence in that capital; although it does not appear to have been his intention to employ him, at first, in any direct negociation with the French court, but rather in such cases, to make use of him as an adviser to others. It was principally in the management of his affairs with the party in England that he expected the most material assistance from Atterbury, and he lays hold of the fact here mentioned to prove the correctness of his opinion by observing, "I think the English government by asking your removal, shews also how useful you may be where you are. I do not apprehend that you will be molested, and I can easily see that your presence there will become more necessary than ever, whenever the Duke of Bourbon takes a final resolution." See APPENDIX.

Earl Marischall is going soon to Spain; by him I shall write fully to the Duke of Ormonde who, I find, (by some mysterious expressions in a letter from that side), thinks your affairs may and will be put upon another foot than formerly.

Endorsed by James, "Bp. of Rochester, June 19, 1724."

XXII.

Sir, *Ember* [*Paris*] *July* 23, 1724.

The large packet* of July 4 reached me safe. I have thrown my eye over all contained in it, but hitherto, in a careless manner. I will make the best use I can of the lights you are pleased to afford me; and if I mistake any way in the application of them, it will be a mere fault of my understanding: no improper motive, I am sure, will mislead me. What surprises me most is Filmor's [Lord Mar] free and assured manner of writing;† in which even

* The packet or letter, which Atterbury here acknowledges the receipt of, is a very lengthy one, and contains James's observations and opinions in regard to Lord Mar's conduct, and the manner in which his affairs had been managed for some time past, and the state they were then in at the French Court. It was sent before the receipt of Atterbury's first letter from Paris, James being desirous that the Bishop should be informed as early as possible of his views and intentions. "It is," he observes, "with no small satisfaction that I have heard from several hands of your continuing in so good health since your arrival at Paris. I hope next post, I shall have it confirmed to me from yourself; and in the mean time, I would not delay giving you some general lights, which are necessary to enable you to be of that use to me and the good cause, as I know you desire to be."

† This is very obvious in some of his letters of this period to the Chevalier, who had thus noticed it in his letter of July 4, to Atterbury. "I have made no other reply to his last letter as you will see, but to acknowledge the receipt of it; and indeed if he continues to write to me in such a strain, I cannot in decency answer such letters, tho' I may out of politick not break up correspondence altogether with him."

innocence and ill treatment would not justify him. I am far from thinking the slow measures you are pleased to take, wrong; I have liked them the better for being slow (as Lumnsden [Mr. Hay] well knows) and entertained the greater hope of their being sure ones. Only as to Norton's [Dillon] conduct, I cannot but observe two things: one, that by virtue of the orders of secrecy* given him, I suppose, as to particular cases of moment, he hides every thing of every kind from me, as cautiously as if I were an enemy: another, that he does not so much as impart to me the order of secrecy he has received, as questionless he has done to the two others, with relation to those particular points, he thinks himself obliged to conceal from them — which are, I dare say, exceeding few: so that he treats me in this case with a peculiar neglect, without entering into any excuse or apology on that head, though he had instructions, I think, so to do. This, I fear, will not make the way easier to a future confidence between us: nor give proper impressions to those who look on, and have opportunities of observing the difference

* The measures here alluded to, were for the quiet removal of Lord Mar from all concern in James' affairs. As regards the strict orders of secrecy, it may be observed, that with the ostensible reason for giving them was combined another, the object of which was twefold, and, though not declared, was intended to keep the knowledge of certain negociations then pending between the French government and the Czar in favour of James, from Lord Mar; and to ascertain beyond any doubt how far Dillon himself might be depended upon in his observance of them. Of Dillon's fidelity, notwithstanding James' misgivings, there seems no reason to doubt; and indeed Atterbury's querulous observation a little further on, is the strongest proof we can have, of his rigid adherence to the Pretender's orders generally, and particularly to those which were conveyed to him in a letter dated from Rome, February, 25, 1724; and which, though principally and designedly levelled at Mar, were, to make them as little obnoxious as possible, couched in such precise yet general terms, that Dillon could not evade, or Mar take exception at them. The Reader will find an extract from the letter containing these instructions in the APPENDIX.

of his conduct. The longer he continues at this distance, the more unwilling he will probably be to make aproaches, when they shall be judged necessary; and will by that time have contracted a peevishness which his advisers may improve into mischievous consequences. These are apprehensions, Sir, which I thought myself bound to lay before you; and having done so, shall add nothing farther on that article: for, after all, no man but yourself, can form a true judgment how far you are to go in such cases, and when and where you are to stop. I plainly see the inconveniences here: but there may be twenty others, that you, Sir, see elsewhere, and that I neither am nor can be aware of.

I have written to Lumnsden my sense of the affair of Meadows* [the Earl of Kinnoul] which is, I think, so

* Lord Kinnoul was the elder brother of Mr. Hay; and appears hitherto to have been as strongly attached to the exiled family as either his father or brother. About this time, however, he thought it prudent to make his peace with the government, and to accept, as was believed, a pension of 1000*l.* a year. This event caused no little uneasiness to the whole Jacobite Party, and particularly to his brother at Rome, who, imagining that his own fidelity would be suspected, assured the Bishop that, if the information proved true, "he should certainly desire to be no more entrusted by the King, and would not for the world, that the King should employ one who has a brother capable of an action of that nature." Hay was evidently puzzled to account for Lord Kinnoul's proceeding, and seemed inclined to attribute it either to losses sustained in the South Sea Scheme, or to the intrigues of Lord Mar, or both combined; and in one letter to Atterbury he even says, "I believe one of his motives for changing sides may be, that he may enjoy that which he knows to belong to me, undisturbed; and that he may have the privilege of canting — that he can't support one that is acting against a government which he serves."

Dillon informed James of Lord Kinnoul's defection on the 20th of June, 1724, and Lord Mar about a month later wrote to the same purpose. In this letter, which teems with abuse of Mr. Hay, is given the conversation said to have passed between George the First and Lord Kinnoul concerning Hay — which with other extracts relating to this subject will be found in the APPENDIX.

clear a point as to admit of no doubt. It is a new point, whether this be a proper juncture to execute the intentions you have had in relation to him. For my part, I begin to think it is; though I foresee the advantages that will be taken of this step, and the noise that will be made: but sometimes a stroke of this kind is of greater importance towards dissipating little oppositions, than more slow and wary measures. I am inclined to think this to be the case at present. While this matter continues in suspense (as you yourself, Sir, have foreseen) no arts will be wanting to hinder it; to lay in prejudices with all friends everywhere against it; and to excite them some way or other to intimate their sentiments upon it. When it is done, all your faithful friends will justify it; and those that are not so, would equally blame any measures taken by you, while your favour to Lumnsden continued. This reasoning, you will say, was always good; however, Sir, it grows stronger now, when Meadows' behaviour seems to make it necessary that something should be done on your side to shew that you apprehend no ill consequences from it, and are perfectly secure of his Brother's attachment and fidelity to you.* It will show a scorn of the

* The post which Lord Mar occupied in the Chevalier's service — that of Secretary of State — had remained vacant from the period of James' journey into Spain in 1719, when Mar left Rome. There was confessedly a difficulty in obtaining a person of sufficient rank and consequence to fill the office; and James himself drew up a "Memoire" on the subject of appointing a successor to his Lordship. From a passage in one of Hay's letters, it appears to have been twice offered to Lord Lansdown, but that wished for arrangement did not take place. Hay had in reality, though not ostensibly, discharged all the duties of the office for some time, and James' principal hesitation in openly declaring his appointment, seems to have arisen from some doubt he entertained as to its being agreeable to his party in England; but since the assurance he had received from Atterbury that such a step would not be unfavourably viewed, he had become exceedingly desirous of fixing him in that station. It has already been shown with what reluctance Hay entered into the Chevalier's views, and how sincerely desirous he seems

measures taken elsewhere to increase jealousies, which I am apt to think (though without proof) may have taken their rise from hence, and have been suggested by one, whose particular interest it was on many accounts, that such a step should be made by the ministry of England, and should succeed; and who is perpetually, in an artful manner, playing the same game here, with relation to many others: and the longer he is thought to be in any degree of confidence, will have so much the more time and room to play it.

But, whether this be so or not, and from whatever cause this conduct of Meadows sprung, it deserves your thought, whether the executing what you intended, may not be the best way to obviate the ill consequences of what has happened, and to shew that you know how to distinguish between the arts of false friends and the trial of true ones, and are determined to reward the one at the same time that you despise the other. All this is submitted to you, and whatever resolution you shall take, I will not fail to do my part towards making others approve it. Should you think fit so to act, you will be pleased yourself to notify it to Jamieson [Duke of Ormonde] (and I wish also to Fincastle [Earl Marischall] who is a most worthy man, of the greatest honour, and that bears the truest regard to you) and to order Norton [Dillon] to impart it to Filmor [Lord Mar] Cumming [Lord Lansdown] and Ramsay [the Bishop of Rochester] (if you shall judge that

to have been to avoid taking upon himself, openly, the responsibility of these official duties; and it was an additional distress to him when he found that his brother's defection, which had the effect of increasing his repugnance, was urged by Atterbury as a new and strong argument for James to settle the long pending question of Mar's successor, by, at once, nominating him to the office. If Atterbury ever had any doubt on this point, it seems to have entirely subsided at this time, for he was, as he expresses himself in his next letter, "never so clear in that point as now:" and what effect the Bishop's advice had upon James may be seen by a reference to certain extracts given in the APPENDIX.

step also proper) and all of us to declare to your friends here and elsewhere, the reasons of your conduct.

I have discoursed Fincastle and others about Pignol [the Clans] and do not find there is any real foundation for the earnest (and even rude) representations Filmor has made on that head. If there be, he first raised the resentments before he argued from them, and endeavoured at the expence of your ease and interest, to render himself popular at a time, when he foresaw it would be of use to him to say that he suffered for the regard he had shewed to his countrymen.*

The little contrivances and advices that you apprehend to have been the consequences of the Pension† and Memorial‡ I am not surprised at. It is all of a piece.

* One of the worst features of "Mar's present politicks," by which he hoped to accomplish the object he now principally had in view, was his endeavour to destroy the devoted attachment of the Scotch clans to the person and cause of James, by insinuating that he was unmindful and careless of the wants and necessities of their chiefs who happened to be then in exile. How far Atterbury was right in thus designating Mar's communications on this particular point, may be seen by the extract from one of his Lordship's letters to James, dated April 24, 1724, given in the APPENDIX.

† The whole affair of the pension seems to have been managed with so much secrecy that (with the exception of James himself, Lord Lansdown, Dillon and Hay) it does not appear to have been known to any of the Jacobite Party either in England or on the Continent, beyond faint whispers or vague suspicion: the fact, however, of such an offer having been made by the English Government and Mar's acceptance of it, is placed beyond all doubt by his own letter to the Pretender, dated February 3, 1721, which will be given with his other correspondence. Atterbury while at Brussels had written to Hay, then at Rome with James, desiring information on the subject, and Murray did the same from Paris. Extracts from these letters and other information on this head is given in the APPENDIX.

‡ This Memorial appears to have contained, ostensibly, a plan for the Chevalier's restoration by the assistance of France, but in reality, if the opinion of those most capable of forming a correct judgment of it, be taken, tending to sink irretrievably, both the Pretender and his cause. The scheme was concocted by Lord Mar and submitted through Dillon, to the

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I can imagine what might be suggested of this kind by one step taken about seven or eight months ago, which I knew nothing of till I came to this place; but will own to you, Sir, some concern I was under on that account, especially when I heard from whose advice it proceeded. My two preceding letters to Lumnsden about Everton* [the Pope] will explain my meaning on this

Duke of Orleans, but was of so wild a character that neither James nor his friends believed that Mar ever contemplated its adoption. They considered that his object, after placing it in the Regent's hands, (which he did before the Pretender had any knowledge of its existence) was to obtain James' approval of the measure; and having procured that, he would have found means of transmitting it with the Memorial itself, to the ministry in England, with whom it was his object now to curry favour, and who would gladly have availed themselves of so favourable an opportunity of proclaiming to the nation, how little its interests or the integrity of the empire was cared for by the Pretender, could he but accomplish his purpose. This is supposed to have been the real snare laid by Mar; and had James fallen into it by any approval of the scheme — the loud and deserved indignation of the three kingdoms would at once have told him, that all future hopes for himself or family were at an end.

The means adopted by Mar to accomplish his own restoration to his country and property cannot be defended. Without, it would seem, daring fairly and openly to avow himself a seceder from the cause of the Pretender, he was nevertheless pursuing measures (of which the Memorial is a striking instance) calculated to destroy it; while at the same time his letters to the Chevalier, though full of complaints of particular or imaginary grievances, breathe a certain devotion to James and his cause that might deceive a cursory reader — but, to one who can view it with the lights afforded by the Notes appended to this correspondence, the thin film of apparent loyalty and devotion with which he has clothed his sentiments will be easily seen through.

The principal insight into the drift of the Memorial is obtained from Hay's correspondence, extracts from which will be found in the APPENDIX.

* James acknowledged the receipt of this letter on the 12th of August, 1724, and in reference to this passage thus expresses himself to the Bishop, "I take it most kindly of you the freedom with which you write on all subjects, and particularly your having imparted to me so plainly your reflexions in relation to Mr. Everton. I am very sensible of the ill consequences which must attend his making a public appearance in my behalf, but there is this good in his circumstances and situation, which is, as they deprive him

head. And permit me, Sir, freely always to represent to you, what appearances I think are absolutely necessary to be observed or avoided, in order to your happy arrival at that point, which shall be the continual object of my wishes and endeavours: and in order to your gaining it in such a manner as may render your happiness firm and durable. I add no more besides assurances of my neglecting no opportunities of rendering service to your cause, as far as I am (by any lights I receive, or any situation I am in) capable of promoting it; and as long as God shall continue such a measure of health to me, as is requisite for that purpose.

Endorsed "B. R. [the Bishop of Rochester] July 23d, 1724."

XXIII.

SIR, *July* 31, 1724.

I return my humble thanks for the opportunity given me of perusing the Papers,* which I reconvey by this post.

of ever acting a principal part in such an affair, so they enable him to befriend me underhand, without there ever being a necessity of such steps appearing."

The two letters to Hay here mentioned were probably written in compliance with a request, contained in one from him to Atterbury, dated June 20, 1724, to have his opinion as to the best way of proceeding with the Pope for the time to come; extracts from which will be found in the APPENDIX.

* Certain letters and papers relating to Lord Mar's conduct which James had sent, with his letter of the 4th of July, to Atterbury, "to the end that he might have a clear view of every thing;" and were intended to supply any deficiency in the information furnished by those already forwarded to the Bishop by Lord Mar himself, as explanatory of his measures and conduct. In a postscript to his letter James says "there being not time to take copies of all the enclosed letters, I desire you will send them back to me when you have done with them."

They are of the same extraordinary nature with those I had before seen, and confirm all I had observed. I shall endeavour to make a proper use of the lights they afford me, as I have occasion. What relates to me you know, Sir, to be utterly mistaken, or misrepresented in almost every article. The true reason of his not sending a copy of my late Letter* to him, was not any nicety in that point: for he shewed it as soon as he had received it, to several: but because he knew it did not rise up to the interpretation he had made of it. I never wrote him any other than that since my coming hither, whatever he insinuates to the contrary:† except one in answer to an

* This refers to Letter XIX., a copy of which Atterbury enclosed in this to the Chevalier, who acknowledged its receipt on the 19th of August. Mar, who began now to shew his real feeling towards the Bishop, also thought it necessary to do the same on the 25th of the following September, and we may suppose, from the tenor of the postscript to the letter he then addressed to James, that the breach between him and the Bishop had become considerably widened. He thus writes, "Since the Bishop of Rochester has thought fit, Sire, not only to make no secret of what past betwixt him and me at his coming to Paris, but also in a surprizing manner now accuses me as being guilty of a crime in laying some of my papers in confidence before him, I think myself no longer under any restraint to show what he wrote to me then, so I presume to inclose a copy of two of his letters to me and of one of mine to him; and for this new charge of his against me, I am in very little pain, espetially having your Majesty's approbation of the confidence I made him." A passage in the copy of James' letter to the Bishop of the 19th of August, which, although in Edgar's hand writing, is corrected throughout by the Chevalier himself, confirms the opinion that Mar was now at open variance with the Bishop; but although there is every reason to believe that this first sketch of his answer, contained nothing more than the true and simple statement of a fact, yet as the passage appears to have been suppressed, the extract is not given. The Bishop's own copy of No. XIX. has not been found; and the one in this collection is printed from that transmitted by Lord Mar.

† This insinuation appears to be contained in a letter from Lord Mar to James, dated June 12, 1724, and which was undoubtedly one of those sent by the Pretender to Atterbury. "I gave you an account by last post of my haveing seen a friend lately come from Flanders. He has read the papers I

invitation he gave me and my daughter to take the air in his coach with him: which I declined. Of the other letter I trouble you, Sir, with a copy, that you may not judge it different from what it really was. You will find it expressed with waryness, and that civility which I judged necessary at that juncture; but still consistent with the real sense I had of his conduct. They are the words of my letter, as it lies in the foul draught, without the least alteration that I am aware of. Pardon the impertinent trouble I give you in this respect: which will not be frequent. But I had no commands from you this post: and therefore took the opportunity of explaining this particular. There is one thing, Sir, that, upon the perusal of the letters he put into my hands, I think myself obliged to observe to you. It appears from them, that when Mr. Churchill was here, May, 1722, to urge him to discover what he knew of the Plot, on the account of *the favours conferred on him by* K. G. [King George] *for some time past* (those are the words of the letter written to him by Lord Carteret in his own name, and those of Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole) it appears, I say, from the very letters he imparted to me, that he had several private meetings with Churchill by himself, and

gave him, by which he seems to have come to think quitt differently from what he did of many things, and particularly of an humble servant of yours. He has wrote to me more than once on it, and I had prepaird copies of them to send you, but on reflection, knowing that he is pritty nice in some things, and that perhaps he might not like my haveing showd his letters, should he come to know it, I judged it better to let alone sending them, for after what I have found of Mr. Hay, so long as he is so entirely trusted and emploied in every thing by you, I can make little doubt of his knowing what is wrote to you, and of his takeing all opportunities of hurting me he can, particularly with that person, where I have reason to believe his haveing used his endeavours for that end pritty much already." The other letter mentioned by Atterbury as being written by him to Lord Mar, declining an invitation "to take the air in his coach" is that printed under Number XX.

used to go to him a-nights for that purpose, and to receive visits from him at his own house, under the notion of Churchill's visiting his Lady, who was at such times, out of the way. One instance of this kind I will give in terminis, as it lies in those Papers.

May 28, 1722, Thursday, two o'clock M [Mar] writes to Churchill *to be at home at nine o'clock that night and he would come to him.*

Afterwards *at one o'clock Friday morning,* he writes thus, " I called at your lodgings twice after nine o'clock. " If you want to say any thing to me, or *ask me about,* " *before you write to-morrow* (viz. to England) I suppose, " you would wish to do it, *before the evening: and till* " *then, it will not do so well, to be at your lodgings;* there- " fore in that case may you not call here about twelve, to " see Madam? and I'll endeavour that nobody shall be " then with me. But you are the best judge; so, good " night! "

These secret visits were without the privity of the other two:* and what passed there may easily be guessed, and appeared by the event; particularly, as to me: against whom though the Ministry brought no proofs, yet they declared themselves to have infallible assurances of my guilt, which they were not at liberty to produce.

Since I am upon this subject, give me leave to add, that it appears from these Papers, that Churchill was dispatched from London, May 6, which was two days after the three letters supposed to have been written by me, had been intercepted at the post-house, and were the first lights of that kind the English Ministry had. Churchill reached Paris, May 10, and let M. know (as M. himself has own'd) that those letters were intercepted; one of which was supposed to have been written to M. himself. After that,

* Lord Lansdown and General Dillon.

they two have many secret conferences; and the result of them was (as to me) that M. on May 22, writes a letter to me (printed in the Report) and sends it by the common post (which he knew at that time to be most narrowly watched) and in that letter owns the receipt of mine, and describes me by my function, the late death of my wife, and a fit of the gout, from which I was just recovering: characters that agreed to no other person in the kingdom, but myself. Nor is his letter any thing but a mere compliment, without the least colour of business: so that no account can be given of sending it by the post, but in order to prove upon me the letter to which it was an answer. Accordingly this answer was (as it was intended to be) intercepted, and was the main evidence against me at my hearing. I have discoursed him on these circumstances, and he has nothing to say for himself that deserves the least attention. I protest to you, Sir, that what I mention is not with any peculiar regard to myself; but as an instance, and a very convincing one, of his acting such a part in your affairs, as made all designs on your behalf abortive, and will for ever make them so, while he is concerned in them, or any ways acquainted with them. While he is so, you will give me leave to say, that I must not, I cannot meddle, without making myself an instrument of ruining your interest instead of supporting it. Something of this kind, Sir, I said to you in my first letter from hence of June 19: and beg leave to repeat it now, without intending to trouble you any more on this article.

At the same time I must own, that unless the other two can be effectually and entirely separated from him (which I now see to be more difficult than I once thought it) I can no more enter into confidences with them than with him; though they are both in their characters and intentions, very honorable men: however they happen to have been misguided into measures, no ways defensible or

even excusable, particularly that of Ld. Ls. [Lord Lansdown's] perpetual intimacy with Churchill, while he was here for near a month, on purpose to pick up evidence, in order to hang all his friends in England.

Pray God direct you, Sir, to take those wise steps which are necessary for your service, and would be equally necessary, were I in my grave! as I shall not long be out of it, if I once despair of finding a way to make my exile contribute to your restoration. * I acknowledge the entire reasonableness of what you propose, and have already done in relation to the separating D. [Dillon] from M. [Mar] and wish it may be successful, though I am apprehensive it will not be so, without some struggle: so far has that mutual communication of counsels been carried, and so deeply is the intimacy fixed that was founded upon them!

Nothing can become you more, or will be of more use towards rightly conducting your affairs, than the Resolution you have taken of conducting them yourself, and employing such only as shall submit to those directions, and not pretend to controul them.† All your real friends

* Atterbury at the time he sent this letter to the Chevalier, wrote also to Mr. Hay, from whose reply (Aug. 22, 1724) we may conclude that a similar observation had been made to him, for he observes, "It is, I can assure you, a very great mortification to the King to see that the services you can and are willing to render him and the good cause should be obstructed by the most unaccountable humours of some persons at Paris; but I hope the orders the King sends Mr. Dillon by this post, of which the King himself gives you an account, shall partly remove some obstacles, and the instructions you may give to Dillon with relation to his conduct with Mons. Le Duc, may soon enable you to discover what part Dillon will act for the future, and whether he acts a fair part towards you or not."

† These observations were apparently called forth by the following passage in James' letter of the 4th of July; "Past mistakes give one experience for the future, and I plainly see, that the cause can never prosper, without I act in a firm and masterly way, and in being the sole and chief director in my own business; employing and supporting those who, by their talents, their submission to me, and their disinterestedness, can only effectually contribute

will obey you, if they see you resolve to be obeyed. Vigour, union, firmness and secrecy in your counsels, will be the effect of this method. When you are seen and known to hold the reins in your own hands, the little struggles now kept a-foot between your subjects and servants, will vanish: you will consequently appear more formidable to your enemies at home, and more considerable to your friends abroad. Whereas at present D. [Dillon] knows well, that the word at this Court is, "How can his Affairs succeed while they are directed by one who has a pension from England?"

I have written by the last post, my poor sense of what, in your present circumstances, seems requisite to be done in relation to Lumnsden [Hay.] I was never so clear in that point as now. I have explained myself at large, with respect both to your interest and his own reputation. I do not think he can retreat without mischieving both. The jealousies he will by that means raise, are natural and manifest; and those that do not mean him well, and have, to my knowledge, laid the snare, will smile at his falling into it.† * * * *

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The only thing that can make his [Lord Kinnoul's] defec-

to the good of my service and the good cause, which no misfortunes nor disappointments will ever hinder me from forwarding to my utmost; nor will they debar me, I am sure, from finding good patriots who will help and concur with me for the common good, towards which, next to myself, I know none so much can contribute as you. It is on your honour and advice that I do and ever shall chiefly depend for the carrying on successively [successfully] my affairs, and your endeavours towards that will, I know, never be wanting."

† The passage in the original letter, indicated by these asterisks has been so completely obliterated that it is impossible to make out one word. The remaining portions of the paragraph, however, sufficiently intimate that it

tion considerable is, as it may affect Lumnsden, and induce him to take a wrong turn upon it. It will be a wrong one indeed, if after his enemies have, as I verily believe, suggested those counsels to the English Ministry which have wrought this effect, he should contribute to make their malicious craft successful. I am very full of this matter, and can hardly temper myself, when I think of it. For God's sake, Sir, let the subtle contrivers of these snares see, that both you and those who honestly serve you, are aware of their arts; and not only despise them, but know how to turn them to advantage, and to make the authors themselves feel the effects of them.

I have had an imperfect account of some Persons who went to Italy upon some ill errand, and of advices of consequence, sent you on that head, which had been highly useful. If there were any real danger, and it is over, your true servants ought to be satisfied, without being farther inquisitive.*

Col. Clephane arrived two days ago, as I find from Lord M. [Mar] whom he has visited.†

had reference to Hay's appointment as Secretary of State to James, and to his brother's defection: and this seems confirmed by a passage in the Chevalier's letter to the Bishop of the 19th of August, where, he says, "I have razed out of your letter the words you desire and can add no more on Mr. Hay's subject than what I wrote last post. It cannot be wondered that he should have had some melancholy thoughts, but in the midst of them, the good of my service was his only object, and what he really finds to be so, will, you may be sure, always be his rule." What the Chevalier mentions in this extract as having been written "last post" will be found in the APPENDIX to Letter XXII.

* James in his reply of the 19th of August observes on this passage, "I have been all my life so used to receive informations in relation to spyes and other ill designing persons, that though it is fit I should be informed of what comes to the knowledge of my friends in those respects, and that reasonable precautions should be taken, yet otherways I do not much attend to such matters: neither have I had of late any information of weight on such heads."

† "Colonel Clephane is one of those true honest men whom I was alway

Col. Mac Mahon was not yesterday gone, being kept for some important despatch he is to carry, I suppose, upon the return of Col. Bret* from England, which has been expected for above a fortnight past.

Endorsed by James himself, "Bp. [of] Rochester, July 31, 1724."

XXIV.

SIR, *August* 7, 1724.

On August 4, I received your letter of July 15.† After the long letters I have written successively every post, in order to be laid before you, I have little to add upon the subject of your last, but this, that though in the point of Martel [Lord Mar] and of settling your affairs here upon a new foot, I have thought delay requisite, yet I now begin to think and find it dangerous; as it gives him room to

glad to have about me; but his health would not allow his longer stay in this hot climate."—JAMES to ATTERBURY, Aug. 19, 1724.

* Hay in his letter to Atterbury, dated August 22, 1724, says, "I reckon Colonel Bret's mission into England was to procure from some friends there an approbation of the Duke of Mar's conduct, and perhaps a condemnation of that of some others; and I think the delaying his return denotes some difficulties he has met with in the execution, and I shant wonder if friends in England should be shy in entering into matters of that kind." By his next letter to the Bishop (August 29) we find that Mac Mahon did leave Paris before Colonel Brett's arrival, which must, he imagines, have been a great disappointment to Mar and his party, for he observes, "all that Mr. Mac Mahon carried might have been sent as well by the post, and was not worth his waiting for three hours."

† Written in answer to Atterbury's first letter to the Pretender from Paris, dated June 19. In it James observes that "having writ so fully by the last post but one [July 4th] he had not much to add in the present;" he however touches upon the Duke of Mar's conduct and removal;—the affair of Lord Kinnoul;—Hay's appointment;—and the importance he considered Atterbury's employment at Paris was likely to be to his cause. He assures him that his "advice and informations will always be most acceptable, as they are and will be highly useful."

play a game here very mischievous to your interest, which he is dividing and breaking by all possible methods, and laying a foundation for further merit with and rewards from your enemies, even after he shall appear to be out of all your secrets as well as your service. How it comes to pass I know not: but of late he and his two friends are more strictly united than ever, and more determined, in appearance, to stick by one another: and will probably be more and more so, till you shall please to act in such a decisive manner as shall scatter at once all their little arts and contrivances.* Till this be done, I now see, that those who sincerely mean your interest, and only yours, here and elsewhere, can be of no use to it, and will have no credit nor any heart to proceed. Within two or three months a Session of Parliament will be coming on; and by that time, all the engines for distressing your interest will be ready. Some scheme should be, out of hand, formed for supporting it; else I fear, it will suffer exceedingly. The Duke of Ormonde will never come hither, or stir from the place where he is, while they who are employed to solicit his remove, are the very persons that have obstructed it. They were in earnest to have brought him hither before the Duke of Orleans died, in order to have taken a part in that wretched scheme† they had just contrived, without opening the

* Atterbury at the time he wrote this letter, sent one also to Mr. Hay, who acknowledged its receipt on the 28th of August. James delayed his answer till the 3rd of September, in order that he might be able to inform the Bishop that all necessary steps were actually taken in relation to the Duke of Mar. Hay's letter was much to the same purpose, and both contained additional information relative to the Memorial. See APPENDIX.

† See the Note on page 80, as well as the APPENDIX to Letter XVII., for information relative to the Duke of Ormonde's intended residence in France. All that was thought necessary to communicate to the Bishop at this time, regarding the "wretched Scheme" here mentioned, will be found in the extract from Hay's Letter in the APPENDIX.

terms or the consequences of it to him. After those measures were broke by Jordan's [the Duke of Orleans] death, they have dreaded his coming hither. As for what you were pleased to order should be said about me to the Duke of Bourbon,* if his good thoughts of me can be turned any wayes to the good of your cause, I shall desire them: otherwise it will be very indifferent to me how I am thought of here by him or by any body that belongs to him. I pray for your prosperity, Sir, not foreseeing how at present I can otherways contribute to it.

I enclose a letter,† the contents of which the writer was

* This observation refers to the following passage in James' letter of the 15th of July. "It is fit on this occasion that you should know, that I have had lately, a lucky and secure opportunity of informing Mons. Le Duc, by a private person — a great confident of his — of what I think of the Duke of Mar; and of letting your character and merit be known to him."

† From Earl Marischall, enclosing one from M'Pherson of Cluny, relative to an attempt that had been made upon the life of Glenbucket, by some of his Clan, in consequence of the harsh treatment they had experienced from the Duke of Gordon and Glenbucket himself, to whom the Duke had "feued most of his lands in Badenoch," and who now seemed determined to expel the whole Clan from this part of the country. The object of M'Pherson in writing to Lord Marischall, was to entreat him to intercede with his friend [i. e. James] to write to the Duke on their behalf; and in so doing his Lordship at the same time forwarded Cluny's own letter. James acknowledged the receipt of these to Lord Marischall on the 26th of August, and states that "Our worthy tho' infirm friend at Paris, has mentioned you more than once to me, in a manner suitable to the good opinion I have long had of you, and which I am very glad to see confirmed by so good a judge of men and one so sincerely attached to me. You cannot therefore doubt of the manner in which I shall always receive what you may represent to me for my service, the forwarding of which I am very sensible you have only at heart; and I shall, out of hand, write to the Duke of Gordon and to Glenbucket, in the manner proposed, and send my letters to Lochyel. I heartily wish my interposition may have the desired effect, and that I may have frequent occasions of showing my faithful Scots subjects, the tender regard I have and ever shall have for them, and for whatever may contribute to the wellfare and happiness of that kingdom, which will I hope yet have occasions of giving me new proofs of their affection; for it cannot be imagined that Europe can long continue in the odd situation it is at present in." On the

pleased to communicate to me. I presume not to interpose in matters which I understand not. However [I] cannot forbear wishing success to a proposal which seems to tend so much to your service, and which comes to you from a hand (to my knowledge) so entirely devoted to it.

Addressed "To Mr. Mercer;" and endorsed by James himself, "Bp. Rochester, Aug. 7, 1724."

XXV.

SIR, *October* 2, 1724.

Norton [General Dillon] was with me again last night. I had not seen him since Thursday was 7-night, October [September] 21. He shewed me the letter to Mrs. Solway [the Duchess of Bourbon] and what you were pleased to say of me there.* I wish I deserved it, that I might

following day (August 27) James wrote the letters he promised. This fact was communicated to Atterbury in Hay's letter of the 29th, when he informs him that "The King has comply'd with my Lord Marischall's desire, and I send the letters proposed, by the post, to Mr. Cameron of Lochyel, whose son will be to wait upon you; and as he is going back soon into his own country, care ought to be taken that he be pretty well informed of the truth of things, which I shall partly provide for by the means of his uncle who is here." These letters, together with those of Lord Marischall and M'Pherson, will be found in the APPENDIX.

* This letter was conveyed to Dillon in one from the Pretender, dated September 10, wherein he states, "enclosed you will find a letter from me to Madame La Duchesse. There was no venturing to send it out of cypher, and accordingly you will find it in Daniel O'Brien's cypher; and you will in delivering of it, make the proper excuses for the style and manner in which it is write, with all proper assurances of friendship and confidence from me. Before you deliver it I would have you show it to the Bishop of Rochester, and confer with him on what may be proper for you to represent to Madame La Duchesse on that occasion."

By the same post Hay wrote (September 12) to the Bishop informing him that "This post the King writes a letter to Madame La Duchesse, which he

be the more capable of serving you: life itself being now no otherwise valuable to me, than as it affords me occasions of doing it. He discoursed me more freely and openly on your affairs than formerly: and from the whole, I am confirmed in my former opinion, that the Duke of Bourbon's professions have no determined meaning,* nor

sends to Mr. Dillon, with orders to him to communicate it to you. The contents of the letter is chiefly to show Mons. Le Duc the difficultys he must plunge himself into by continuing to follow the schemes projected by Cardinal Du Bois. The King there mentions the confidence he has in you and the great satisfaction it would be to him, that Mons. Le Duc would hear you fully upon the present state of affairs in England. But as I don't doubt but you'll see the letter, I wont trouble you with repetitions."

Dillon acknowledged the receipt of the Chevalier's letter, enclosing that for the Duchess of Bourbon, on the 2nd of October. The latter he says, "he drew out in plain terms, and have communicated it to the Bishop of Rochester, with whom I have been yesterday for three hours: this gentleman pressed very much for getting a copy of it, and I promised to give him one. I presume my doing so will not be disapproved, I shall be glad however to know your intentions on like occasions for time to come."

The Pretender's letter to the Duchess of Bourbon is dated from Rome, September 9, 1724, and after speaking of the line of policy adopted by her son the Duke; — the good will of the Czar to his cause; — the good disposition of his subjects; —and how much more advantageous it would be for France, that he should possess the throne of England, in preference to the then reigning family; he proceeds, "Mons. de Dillon vous parlera, Madame, plus au long de toutes ces matières; et comme il est nécessaire que vous soyez bien instruite de ce qui peut regarder l'Angleterre, je vous prie très instamment de vous en laiser informer par l'Evêque de Rochester. Vous scavez ce qu'il a soufert pour ma cause, et j'ai les plus grandes preuves de sa fidelité et de sa capacité dans les affaires. Il est d'un secret impénétrable et d'un zéle ardent mais éclairé; car je scay par expérience, combien il a toujours été éloigné d'approuver aucun projet en ma faveur, qui n'eut par une grande apparance de succès. Enfin il vous dira la verité toute pure, et vous ne devez pas craindre qu'il vous trompez, ou qu'il se laisse tromper luy même dans les lumières qu'il vous donnera. Du reste, son crédit dans sa nation le rendra toujours considérable et essentiellement utile par tout, ou il s'agira de mes intérêts."

* Hay, in a postscript to the letter he sent to Atterbury on the 5th of September, speaking of some letters he had just received from Dillon, says,

can be of any real use to you, while Solway [the Duke of Bourbon] pursues the track he is now in; which will lead him still farther and farther out of the way of serving the King, and at last, out of a possibility of doing it. In the mean time, his repeated solicitations of the Czar,* and the

"he insists still upon M. Le Duc's good intentions; you'll be able to form a solid judgment of this when Mr. Dillon has talked to you freely upon it; since I hope he'll be more full in his discourse than he is in his letters." This appears to have been the case, as we find not only from the Bishop's own admission above, but from a passage in one of the three letters, which Dillon wrote to the Pretender on the 2nd of October. In it he observes, "As I know your intire confidence in the Bishop of Rochester, and great opinion of his judgment in all matters relating to your interest: that he might be the better able to judge and determine, I gave him a full and very particular account of all that past between the Duke of Bourbon and me, as likewise of all our transactions with the Czar and his trustee Prince Kurakin; so that Rig is now informed of the whole without any reserve." In the second of the letters of this day's date Dillon repeats this assurance; but almost immediately afterwards, as would appear from another of his letters written on this day, he seemed to entertain a doubt whether his acting in this strict conjunction with the Bishop, would conduce to James' service; grounding his fears upon the Bishop's want of temper, and bringing as an example, his frequent disagreements with men of distinction and experience of his own country and religion. This letter, together with extracts from the first he wrote to James under this date, and from Hay's communication to Atterbury, bearing date the 5th of September, will be found in the APPENDIX.

* It will be seen by Dillon's communication, given in the APPENDIX to the preceding note, that these solicitations on the part of the Duke of Bourbon were for the Czar to adjust his differences with England. This conduct would appear inexplicable, were his professions of friendship and promises of assistance to James, sincere; which it is clear, Atterbury was far from believing; and concerning which Hay and even James himself began by this time to have some misgivings. The former, writing to the Bishop on the 5th of September, says, in reference to the Duke of Bourbon, "Mr. Dillon seems still to think that Mons. Le Duc is a true well wisher, though I think his behaviour at the same time shows, that he is resolved to do nothing essential for the King, at least for some time. As a proof of this, he has pressed the Czar to make up matters with the Elector of Hannover *as King of England;* but the Czar has refused it absolutely, though he is willing to treat with him as Elector of Hannover:" and in a subsequent communication (October 17) he says, "I agree entirely with you as to the little hopes there is at present (all things

unlimited proffers England will make on that occasion, may prevail: and should the Duke of Hannover die without any previous dispositions agreed on towards making use of that juncture, Paxton [the Czar] perhaps may cool in his zeal, half of which I take to be founded on personal resentments.* You will please therefore to consider,

considered) of Mons. le Duc's espousing the King's cause: yet as his politick may change, and that his present conduct may be occasioned by his newness in business, which might make him shy in changing the former course affairs were in, nothing ought to be neglected that can induce him to think favourably of the King's restoration. Nobody is able to discourse him on these subjects to better purpose than yourself, and that is the reason of the King's sending you by this post, a letter for Mons. Le Duc, that so you may have more ways than one, of being introduced to him. It is certain that Mons. Le Duc had always a personal friendship for the King, and it is as sure that at present he wants more than any thing, to procure a settlement for himself, and he has but a short time to work out his designs without being controlled; for in all probability the King of France will soon take the management of affairs upon himself, or, which is the same thing, will soon come to be governed by a mistress or the like; so that it would be of advantage that it should be made appear to Mons. Le Duc, that the King may be of the greatest use to him immediately upon his Restoration. The King writes to Mons. Le Duc, but only receives verbal answers from him, so that what you proposed for disturbing Mons. Le Duc's game, can't be brought about: and I think the court of France ought to be ply'd the closer, because there does not appear any shadow of hopes of the Emperor's so much as hearing any proposals that may be made to him from the King; and no step that ever has been made at the court of Vienna, has ever gone so great a length as to give any jealousy to the court of France, though they were to be informed of it."

* There was a rumour, just at this time, of the death of King George I.;—an event which the Pretender and his party was looking forward to, with no little anxiety. Hay on the 10th of October writes thus to Atterbury, "I wait with impatience to see what letters come by next post, since hitherto he [Dillon] has not said a word about the rumour of the Elector of Hannover's death, which, methinks, is an accident that ought to be taken hold on and improven as much as possible for the advantage of the cause." To be the better prepared for this event, and to be more conveniently placed for communication with his friends, James at this period, was desirous of obtaining permission to reside once more at Avignon; and on the 18th of September wrote to desire Dillon to bring the subject under the Duke of

whether this be not the time of pushing the Duke of Bourbon into clearer explications of himself, and letting him see, that you cannot rely on general assurances, which the very steps he now takes must frustrate; and insinuating by these means (though without saying it) that you may possibly turn yourself to other views, and resolve not to neglect so extraordinary a juncture.

Sir, it is certain, that he makes great advantage of his pretended influence over you, towards drawing England into all his measures. He knows that the moment he is stripped of that advantage, he must treat upon another foot, and will find Garroway [England] cooler, and less eager in the offers made to purchase Dunbarr's [France] friendship. An alarm therefore of the kind I mentioned, and followed by suitable steps and appearances, in the place where you are (which will be sure to come round) cannot, I think, but be of use; especially if nothing said or done, carries you beyond a retreat, and leaves the way still open to close with which side you shall judge at last, means you best, and will act most openly for you. These, Sir, are my poor thoughts, built on a firm persuasion, that the way you are now in, can possibly produce nothing, but a gradual and slow destruction of your Interest.

They are here in no manner of disposition to receive lights as to the true state of Garroway. Their business is to strengthen England as much as they can, and by that means make it a more useful, because more potent ally. They will be deaf therefore and inattentive to all Papers*

Bourbon's consideration; and, if the Duke had been found "plyable," Hay in his letter to Atterbury (October 10), propounded a scheme by which it might have been, as he imagined, brought about. This will be found in the APPENDIX.

* To Atterbury was, more particularly, assigned the task of communicating with the French ministry on questions relating to the state of England and the prospects and condition of the Jacobite party there. This was the object in wishing him to be introduced to the Duchess of Bourbon as well as

and Propositions of that kind, which it is their manifest interest, not to believe; or if they do believe, yet to dissemble their sense of it. When their mind begins to receive another turn, they may taste such overtures: at present it seems to me, that no manner of good will be done by them. However, Sir, since you have been pleased to mention somewhat of that kind in your letter to Mrs. Solway, I shall not decline the service, though I expect no fruit from it — especially if I can find them in the least degree curious upon that Article.

I shall not repeat what I have said in my former Letters; and therefore add only, that I have again discoursed Colonel O'Brien largely on your Affairs, as far as he is acquainted with them; and find not, but that he is a man every way of worth, and whom one would desire to treat with on all other accounts, but that of some intimacies he has contracted; which yet I persuade myself, will not stand in the way towards his doing his duty.* I men-

to her son; and one of the methods by which he proposed to accomplish this purpose, was by drawing up a Memorial on the subject; as we find by one of the three letters which Dillon forwarded to the Chevalier on the 2nd of October. Speaking of the letter James had written to the Duchess of Bourbon, he says, "I observed to Rig [Atterbury] that Farmer [the King] mentions to Mrs. Dorvall [the Duchess of Bourbon] she should receive from him, the true state of affairs in England. I asked what method he intended to take for doing it? he answered by a Memorial. The difficulty is who shall translate it into French, which he will trust to none, but one of his own choice. Rig asked several questions to know if Papers of this kind would be safe in Dampiere's [the Duke of Bourbon] and Mrs. Dorvall's [the Duchess of Bourbon] hands, and if there was no danger of their coming to Walpole's knowledge. I assured him he need not be in the least apprehension on that account. He told me then, he would soon think of making up a Memorial, though said he, I must be free with Dutton [Dillon himself] in telling him what Farmer wrote in my behalf is rather to settle a confidence with Mrs Dorvall than any thing else."

* Dillon's official duties as regarded the Chevalier's affairs, were fast drawing to a close. This must have been anticipated as the natural consequence of his strict union with Mar, and was rendered necessary by the fears of

tioned to him my willingness to be acquainted with Prince Kurakin, and proposed a way for our dropping in upon one

James's friends, which could be completely allayed by no other step. The intimation of James's intention appears to have been forwarded in a letter from him to Dillon, dated the 31st of October; for although a letter of that date has not been found, it is alluded to in another dated Decr. 9, in which James observes "I shall make the proper use of the lights you give me, and what I write to you on the 31st of October will not hinder my receiving from you such informations as you may have to send me hereafter on any occasion. It hath been and is the farthest from my thought, that my withdrawing my confidence from you at this time, should be interpreted as my having any ill opinion of you. I do full justice to your zeal and loyalty, and it is not, nor shall not be, any secret that I do so. I am even hopeful that this step will at the present be of advantage as to your pretentions in France, and the rather, that I have a second time recommended you to M. Le Duc. You must not let yourself be disturbed with idle reports and talk: my faithful servants have had of late, but too much to suffer on that account; but my conduct towards all as are really such, ought to shew them that I am incapable, either of receiving a wrong impression of their character, or misinterpreting whatever they represent to me with a good meaning; which was, I am sure, your case. And so pray be entirely at ease, since what hath passed of late will only engage me to be more attentive in shewing you the sincere regard I have for you."

On the 19th of December, James writes thus to Atterbury. "It is fit you should know that I have acquainted Lord Orrery with my having withdrawn my confidence from Mr. Dillon on account of the influence Lord Mar had over him, and of the share he himself had in the Duke of Mar's private negociations with the late Duke of Orleans, though I have still the same good opinion of his loyalty and zeal for my service."

James' letter to Lord Orrery is dated December 15th, and after giving the above reasons as rendering this new step in relation to Dillon, of absolute necessity, assures his Lordship that "it can be attended with no inconvenience to my service, since he is as incapable of betraying former trusts, as he was little able to serve me at this time in France: — his dependence on that court being so great and so absolute [he was in the military service of France] that the ministers there had but too great an advantage over him, as past experience shows, in concealing from him their real views, and in stopping his mouth with fair words and assurances."

As regards O'Brien, the following is an extract from Hay's letter to the Bishop, dated November 7. "You'll have a satisfaction in seeing before this comes to your hand, that the King and you agree together in the same opinion of Daniel O'Brien. He is certainly staunch and honest, and very

another at his lodging, where he might interpret between us. He seemed to close with it but faintly, out of an apprehension, as I plainly perceived, of offending Norton. I know not, Sir, whether you will think fit to write a line to Prince Kurakin recommending me to his confidence, and desiring Colonel O'Brien, under whose cover it may come, to favour that acquaintance. Perhaps it may turn to some account: however, I will take care that it shall be of no detriment to the service.

Endorsed by Mr. Hay, " B. Rochester to the King. Oct. 2, 1724."

XXVI.

SIR, *Paris, Jan. 29th*, 1725.

Though I have recovered some use of my hand,* yet by

capable; and I am persuaded you'll find him perfectly free of those prejudices which render capacity in others useless for the King's service. I am heartily glad you are so well pleased with him; he deserves all the good you say of him, and I am persuaded will continue to be of very great help to you in carrying on the King's affairs."

* This letter is in the hand-writing of Mr. Murray, to whom the Bishop dictated it. In a letter the former wrote to Mr. Hay (January 22) he informs him that "The Bishop has suffered prodigiously of late, both by his gout and his strangury; and most certainly nothing but such a spirit as he has, could enable one to support the pains he endures." A week later (January 29) he says, "The Bishop is, blessed be God, wonderfully recovered, but cannot, I believe, write as yet with his own hand without pain. However I am to wait upon him in the afternoon, and I suppose he will dictate what he has to say, to me, as he did by the last post."

Murray, however, must have forwarded to James, before the date of this letter, some very discouraging accounts of the Bishop's health; for on the 5th of February (which was long before James could have seen his of the 29th of January) he writes to Murray as follows, "Though I hope the Bishop of Rochester will yet live to see better days, and to receive the fruits of his labours and of all he has done and suffered in my cause, yet the present condition he is in, and which gives me no small concern, renders it requisite to provide for future accidents. In case, therefore, of his death, I would have

reason of some pains that pursue me still, I am not able to write; which adds to the uneasiness I already feel. I sent you word the last post, that I thought I saw some possibility, if not probability, of a miscarriage of a late treaty of reconciliation: — that conjecture grows yet more probable, from what two several persons have since said to Johnsinton,* of which I suppose he gives you an account this post, by the inclosed.† You'll be pleased to consider

you to take into your custody, what papers he may have by him, relating to my service; particularly my letters to him. And I also authorize you in that event, to open such letters as may be addressed to him, by me or others, before we know of it; that by these means my service may suffer as little as possible by so unlucky an accident."

* This word is the cant name for Daniel O'Brien (created afterward Earl of Lismore by James), but it should have been written Jonsonton, which is the orthography used in the keys and by O'Brien himself. The correspondence of this active and confidential agent of the Pretender is, for the most part, written in French; an affectation difficult to account for, as it could hardly have had the recommendation of additional security.

† A letter from O'Brien to James, bearing the same date with this of the Bishop. In it he gives an account of a conversation that took place between himself and the Envoy of the Duke of Holstein, who stated that, being perfectly instructed in the sentiments of his master, he could assure him that the latter had nothing more at heart, if he were upon the throne of Sweden, than to aid in the re-establishment of James upon the throne of England. Upon O'Brien observing that he feared the proposed reconciliation between the Czar and George I. would extinguish this feeling, he observed that, when M. de Morville had pressed him to write to the Duke of Holstein to engage him to persuade the Czar to accept the terms of King George I. as sent to him by the Duke of Bourbon, he had indeed written to his master, but in a very different sense; advising him that it would be for his interest, to hinder in every possible way, the Czar from acquiescing, unless the King of Denmark previously restored what he had usurped, or at least an equivalent; which he added, is a point difficult to adjust, as England has guaranteed to this latter power its possessions."

James looked on these negociations (as well he might) with intense interest; for their success would completely neutralize the only power that seemed either able or willing to assist him. We can therefore readily understand the eagerness with which his party received any report of its failure; as well as the efforts of James himself, to throw what obstruc-

whether it may not be proper to write letters of congratulation both to the father and son-in-law, upon this occasion; in which there may be room to say what you shall think proper to add as to your own hopes and dependance.*

tions he could in the way of their completion. The probability of their failure was noticed in one of Murray's letters to Hay (January 22) where he says, "From publick accounts and from the short hints dropp'd by P. K. [Prince Kurakin] he has some hopes that it is possible still, that a certain negociation may, after all, not succeed." On the 17th of February Hay writes to the Duke of Ormonde to acquaint him, that "By late accounts, it would appear that there is some demurre in the reconciliation betwixt England and the Czar. The King is doing all in his power to hinder the latter's closing with the measures proposed to him by France, for settling a good correspondence there; and, considering the Czar's temper and the Duke of Holstein's interest, which one may reasonably believe the Czar wont forsake, as well as the Duke of Holstein's inclination to favour the King; and his just resentment against the Duke of Hannover for the part he has acted against him in supporting the King of Denmark in the possession of the greatest part of his dominions;—I think, from all these reflections, it is not being too credulous to expect that something good may arise for the King's interest, from these dispositions in the north."

Three days after sending the above to the Duke of Ormonde he writes (February 20) to O'Brien, acknowledging the receipt of his letter of the 29th of January, and expresses himself to the following effect, "I believe you wont doubt how agreeable the accounts you send were to the King, who wishes that you may be soon able to confirm them: and the King would have you express to the Duke of Holstein's minister, how sensible His Majesty is of his master's good dispositions towards him, and the desire His Majesty has to live in a strict friendship with him. What past betwixt that minister and you, can only determine you in what terms it may be most proper to inform him of these, the King's, sentiments; and the King would have you cultivate a friendship with that gentleman, as much as possible. It would be a noble thing if the Czar would undertake the conquering of Norway, since if he was affray'd of any opposition from England, there is an easy way of preserving himself from it, by sending some troops into the Island of Brittain, which I am persuaded he could contrive to do."

* "Before I received your letter [of the 29th of January] I was already thinking of writing to the Czar and the Duke of Holstein, and have been much encouraged to it by what Daniel O'Brien writes hither; and accordingly I shall in a few days, send Captain Hay to the Czar, with these letters and a Proposal of his acting in my favour independent of France. I own I

Filmore [the Duke of Mar] has writ his own Justification,* and shews it about privately to persons who know

do hope for some good from this proposal, in the present conjuncture; and I shall not fail of giving you proper information of the progress of these negociations, which I intend should be kept in the greatest secret; and therefore you will impart these particulars to nobody without exception; and if Captain Hay's leaving this place should happen to be talked of, you will endeavour to give it such a turn, as that the true motive of his journey may not be suspected." James to Atterbury, February 20, 1725.

James' letter to the Czar will be given with the Chevalier's correspondence; that to the Duke of Holstein is as follows:

[Copy.] De Rome, ce 10 Février. 1725.

Monsieur mon Cousin,

Quoique je n'ay par la satisfaction de vous connoître personnellement, l'avantage que vous avez a présent d'appertenir de si près a l'Empéreur de Russie, m'engage a m'intéresser vivement a tout ce que vous regarde, et a vous souhaitter toutes sortes de bonheur sur vôtre marriage. Le choix que S. M. I. a fait de vous pour son gendre, est une illustre témoignage de vôtre mérite et un gage authentique de son empressement a vous rendre aussi heureux et grand que vous méritez de l'être; et les obligations infinis que j'ay moy même a l'Empéreur, me porteront toujours a contribuer autant que la Providence le mettra en mon pouvoir, a la réussitte de tous les justes dessins en vôtre faveur. Je vous prie de recevoir cette lettre non comme un effet de stile et de cérémonie, mais comme contenant les véritables sentiments de mon cœur; et d'etre persuadé que vous me trouverez toujours avec une amitié sincère.

Vôtre tres affectionné Cousin,

JACQUES R.

* Hay observes (February 27) on this passage of the Bishop's letter, "I wish I could see a copy of the Duke of Mar's Vindication, but I suppose he won't give it out of his hand, knowing that it won't bear to be read by those who are well informed. If Ramsay undertakes translating it into French, I believe ways may be found to get at it;" and that could be accomplished very easily, if the estimate he gives of Ramsay's character in a letter he sent to Atterbury, November 7, 1724, be correct, "Mr. Ramsay leaves this place in a few days. He is a great acquaintance of Mr. Southcoat's, tho' I find Southcoat does not know him. He of himself desired to go into France, I am persuaded I don't know the real motives of his journey. He found no difficulty in obtaining leave from the King to go, and as you are a perfect good judge of men, I need say nothing of him to you, especially since I do not pretend to know him thoroughly. He is a creature of the Duke of

little of the matter, and are easy to be imposed upon. I do not believe he will dare to publish it in any other manner, though I doubt not but these steps of his are directed, or approved at least, by those whose money he has taken, and who have no other way left of rendering him useful to themselves, but by putting him in this posture of self-defence, as he will call it, but, as I think it, of real defiance; in order to keep up the faction as much as is possible, and maintain disunion among your friends. And indeed it is very strange to observe, that though his reputation be utterly sunk in England,—the court of France,—and among the bulk of your friends here,—yet there is an open and unaccountable adhesion of some few to him, whom the two, whose names I need not mention, take all care to encourage. Give me leave, Sir, to take this occasion of expressing myself with a freedom to you, which I do not often use. Your orders sent hither (particularly those sent two posts ago) are not only not obeyed,* but

Mar's, and you know how far he meddled with the famous Memorial; you'll find every word of his discourse to you, weighed and premeditate, but two glasses of wine extraordinary unhinges him, and you'll soon see the bottom of him by questioning him. He has some good qualities, were he capable of sincerity, and his want of that is enough to make him disagreeable to the King."

* James had been urging Dillon for some considerable time to deposit with Mr. Lewis Inese, all the official Letters and Papers then in his possession, and which were in any way connected with the Chevalier's affairs. Dillon exhibited on this occasion, if not a reluctance, at least a dilatoriness in complying with James' orders, which his plea of ill health would hardly warrant. James therefore on the 9th of December, 1724, once more mentions the subject, by observing "Your present leisure will I hope have given you time by this, to put the papers I formerly writ about, into Mr. Inese's hands; and when that is done, I wish you would send me, as near as you well can, an account of what money hath passed thro' your hands since I left Avignon; for it will be a great help to me, towards the settling and clearing of my money affairs, which I am desirous to do at this time." And again on the 25th of December he wrote as follows: "Besides the former orders I sent you in relation to the Papers to be put into the Scotch College; and in respect of such

trifled with; and will be so still on, until you are pleased to make those you send them to, see that you expect a punc-

money affairs which have passed through your hands; I find it moreover expedient to direct you at present—

1. To put into the Bishop of Rochester's hands, what Cyphers and Addresses relating to my service, and all blank Powers and other Papers signed by me, which may remain with you, after your having placed in the Scotch College, the Papers formerly directed to be placed there.
2. To give the Bishop a particular account of your transactions relating to the money formerly lent to Sweden; delivering to him also, what Writings and Papers you may have by you concerning that particular.

And lastly; if you have not already fully done it, to give the Bishop particular information of the present state of your correspondance in relation to my affairs.

I doubt not of your exact complyance with these orders, and you may be assured of my constant kindness for you."

Dillon on the 15th of January, 1725, replied to these two letters, saying, "I shall not fail executing punctually all the orders contained in both your last letters of the 9th and 25th of December; and do hope you will not disapprove my performing this with leisure, according as the state of my health permits." Hay in a letter to Murray (February 5) comments on this passage, and observes, "This may last three years, as well as the lodging of certain Papers has lasted seven months. Peter has by this post made a short reply, but plain and pithy." This reply is dated the 3rd of February, and is as follows, "I cannot longer hide from you my great and just surprize, at your having never yet executed the orders I sent you seven months ago, about the Papers; and at your never having given me any reasons for those delays, tho' I have often mentioned those orders to you since: and I do expect from you that in reply to this, you will give a plain and positive account of your having placed them as directed; which is a complyance to me, which I think you owe even to yourself." Dillon did reply to this on the 26th of February, and therein says, "I must ask pardon for not executing your orders sooner, which was really occasioned, of late, by the ill state of my health; and tho' I cannot yet brag of its being perfectly recovered, I shall, however, lose no time in remitting said Papers in due form according to directions. I presume Mr. Rig [Atterbury] has informed you of my delivering into his hands, the Papers concerning the Swedish debt; and I hope in God, it will never be in any person's power, to give the least diffidence of my punctual obedience to your Majesty's commands, so far as the execution depends on me."

James replied to this letter of the Bishop on the 20th of February, and in reference to this passage, observes, "I am sorry some people should continue to act in so odd a way; but my conduct will soon convince them, that nobody

tual and immediate compliance. I question not but what you have already said means as much, but it is certainly not so understood: the behaviour upon them shews this but too plainly, and while this is the case here, and the firm and avowed union of the Triumvirate, with their few dependents, continues, there will be some distraction in your affairs; and the hands you are pleased to employ, weak as they are of themselves, will be still more weakened and made incapable of doing you even that little service that might be otherways in their power. Submissive expressions I apprehend have no meaning, if they are not followed by suitable actions and compliances, which you, Sir, and you only can procure, by letting those see who elude your commands, that their conduct is understood. Norton [Mr. Dillon] tells me at last not only that he has no such letter of notice* as you writ about, but that

will suffer by their's but themselves; and I believe Mr. Dillon will be sufficiently satisfied, that I expect to be obeyed by him in a very different manner, than what I am: tho' should he continue still refractory, I dont think my service will suffer, since in that case I certainly will have no further dealings with him." Other extracts relating to this subject are given in the APPENDIX.

* In a letter which Hay wrote to the Bishop on the 20th of February, expressing the pleasure he felt at finding that his improved health had allowed him to dictate the long letter of the 29th of January, we find the following passage, "Judge by an article of Mr. Dillon's letter to the King of the 23rd of September, 1720, wrote in his own hand, whether the Paper in question was printed and sent or not; it runs as follows, 'You'll find in-'closed a copy of the printed invitation as corrected by Lord Lansdown, Sir 'William Windham, and approved by the Duke of Mar. I have trans-'mitted a Parcel of them to friends in England by Mr. Nicholas Wogan, 'who parted for England two days ago; and will send the rest by next 'post, to the persons that will be judged proper by advice of said friends.' By this I must believe that such a Paper was printed and sent to England, as well as a copy of it to the King, tho' I don't find it put up with the letter." From this passage, which can only have reference to the observation of Atterbury about a "letter of notice," we find that it refers to an invitation, which can be explained by the following extract from a letter of the Che-

no such was ever written and sent; which I doubt not is a mistake, and springs from his unwillingness to give himself the trouble to look over his papers: and if such little assistances are denied, you may judge, Sir, what likelihood there is of his communicating lights of greater importance. This is an unwelcome subject to you, Sir, I dare say, and I am sure to the writer; but it is necessary once for all to be said. I turn myself now to other matters.

The consequences of M. Le Blanc's affair* seem to me

valier to Atterbury, dated December 12, 1724. "In looking over my Papers I find that when the Queen was with child of my son [Charles Edward] there was a general Letter of Invitation to her labour writ by me, printed and sent into England, but I cannot find the copy of the letter itself; and as I think the same forms that were used then, should be renewed now, I would have you endeavour to gett a copy of that letter (for there must certainly be many of them at Paris) and, mutatis mutandis, gett it printed and sent over as t'other was, in sending me a copy of it. It must be dated some time this month, and 'tis in some time in the month of April that the Queen reckons, tho' she is already extremely and much inconvenienced on that account; tho' otherways, thank God, very well, as I hope this will find you, and so adieu." This we have seen was written in December, 1724; and it appears from the conclusion of Hay's letter, an extract from which has been given above, and which was written in February, 1725, that James had by that time, changed his mind as to the necessity of sending such an instrument on the present anticipated accouchement of Clementina; for Hay observes, "but former letters will show you, that the King does not think such an invitation necessary to be sent now," and this opinion he had previously conveyed to Mr. Murray in a letter he addressed to him on the 30th of January. "The King," he says, "thinks that there is no necessity in making the invitation of the Peers to the labour; and since the Bishop thinks it may be attended with some inconveniency, His Majesty has layd aside the thought of it, — the thing in itself not being essential."

* The affair of M. Le Blanc was only likely to be of consequence to the Pretender, inasmuch as it might create a division in the French Ministry, and a consequent change of measures; of which, doubtless, Atterbury was prepared to take every advantage, he feeling convinced, as Murray expresses for him, in one of his letters to Hay, that the state of affairs in France were as he had "all along represented it; and consequently that the only thing now to be done is to cultivate acquaintances and to watch opportunitys in the turns of affairs, in order to make a due use of them when they shall arise,

likely to prove, in conjunction with general murmurs of other kinds, considerable. A cloud, if I mistake not, is arising, which though at present no bigger than a man's

in which, as far as ever his health and circumstances will permit, he shall not be wanting."

It appears to have been a contest between the Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans, who were at this time, any thing but friendly towards each other. In Murray's letter to Hay of the 22nd of January, it is stated, "The animosity between M. Le Duc [de Bourbon] and the Duke of Orleans, seems now to be gone a great length, and people talk of a passage between M. Le Duc and the Comte d'Evereux which is thought remarkable. The Comte d'Evereux was lately at court, and M. Le Duc addressed his discourse to him in public, saying that he heard he had made a visit lately. The other answered, that if he meant by that visit, the honour he had to pay his court to the Duke of Orleans, — it was true; and that if he pleased, he would tell him what passed between them. M. Le Duc desired to know what the Duke of Orleans had said to him, and the Count answered, that the Duke of Orleans said he had resolved to go frequently to the Parliament, believing that by that means, he might acquire a knowledge of things which it was fit for one of his birth, to be informed of; and that as to M. Le Blanc, he went with a firm resolution to give his voice to condemn him, if he found him guilty of any crime; but that he would give it with equal pleasure to acquit him, if he found him innocent. In this country, this manner of answering of M. le Duc, is thought bold; and I mention it to you for that reason. In effect, the Duke of Orleans has not missed going to the Parliament for one day since M. Le Blanc's affair came before them. It was to be determined this day whether the several accusations against him, were sufficient to put him upon his tryal, and I find it is generally thought, that the decision would be favourable to M. Le Blanc." On the 29th of the same month he again mentions the subject by informing Hay that "M. Le Blanc was acquitted by the Parliament unanimously, but there is as yet no step taken towards his liberty; nor do people know if he is likely to obtain it;" and, on February the 5th, he again writes thus to Hay, "I have heard it said that some people are endeavouring to reconcile the Duke of Orleans and Monsieur le Duc: if that should succeed, M. Le Blanc's liberty would probably be one of the first fruits of it; but without something of this kind, it is hardly believed that there is any probability of his getting out of prison." From an expression in one of Hay's letters to Murray (February 13), it would appear that M. Le Blanc's acquittal gave rise to some "whisperings, as if Mons. Le Duc's power was declining."

The general murmurs or rumours of other kinds here mentioned, were the death, as it was at this time currently reported, of K. George I. and the failure of the negociations with the Czar.

hand, may in time overspread the face of the heavens; which if it happens, the progress of it shall be observed, and when communicated, will furnish you with reflections very important to your service; especially if the attempt made on the Czar should miscarry. Should neither of these things happen, yet the death of the Duke of Florence, will necessarily turn up a new game, and be attended with circumstances that must be to your advantage: we are told that event is not far off, and happening in this disconcerted state of things, will be followed by action.

The matter of the Duke of Berwick * still hangs, and is pursued but in a cold and diffident way. I stand still and am prepared for what I expect, further approaches; especially since I have certain accounts that Lord Bolingbroke has been dabbling the same way; as his (and the Duke of Berwick's) friends some months ago were very busy about

* "A propos of the visits you may receive this winter; perhaps the Duke of Berwick and Lord Bolingbroke may be of the number, therefore 'tis fit you should know that the first writes sometimes, letters of compliment to the King and receives answers, but goes no further: he is more than out of court in France at present, for Mons. Le Duc has a great dislike to him. He is reckon'd one of a few of the Duke of Orleans' chief advisers, and by consequence, Mons. Le Duc's enemy; tho' I have heard that it was pretty much his character to prefer his interest to every thing else. I believe by this time my Lord Bolingbroke is full as much displeased with the Elector of Hannover as with the King. He has had no dealings with the last, this long while; and I remember when I was last at Paris, I discovered from the Triumvirate a vast uneasyness least I should have had any dealings with them two; and I am far mistaken if, at present, the Duke of Mar be not using his interest to make up with them, tho' I believe he'll find it a difficult task." Hay to Atterbury, November 28, 1724.

James, who acknowledged the receipt of this letter on the 20th of February, observes on this passage, "I take Lord Bolingbroke's case to be extreme different from that of another certain person [Lord Mar]; and I am entirely of your opinion that it is much to be wished that those who are able to serve me, may be inclined to do so; and therefore you will proceed with him according to the advances he makes, and the marks he gives of a desire to serve me." Mr. Murray also wrote to James on this subject. His letter is given in the APPENDIX.

me, and gave hints sufficiently broad of his inclinations that way, though not such as I then thought fit to understand. His further offers will depend upon the success of his negotiations, which I hear he has once more resumed with England, and if his Lady, who now manages the affair for him in Garroway [England], gives him as unpromising accounts as formerly, I expect to hear further from him: and though, Sir, I shall be very wary how I take any step towards closing with offers of that kind, yet, I am free to own, that I wish it were practicable; for, Sir, it will ever be my opinion and wish, that all who are able, may be inclined to serve you, provided it can be done with safety to your honour: which is more to be regarded than any point of mere interest when separated from it. I except but one man [Lord Mar] in the world from this general wish, and that only because I think it impossible for him ever to play a fair game, or to mean but one thing at once. I wish with all my heart, things at last may be so ordered, that he may stand single, and those few who adhere to him now see their mistake; which event I will patiently wait for, and do all I can under my present disadvantages, to forward.

My illness has forced me for some time to decline all farther acquaintance or correspondence, and therefore your letters to M. de Torcy,* and Sir Patrick Lawless, are as

* James seems to have been in some embarrassment concerning the means of freely communicating with the Duke of Bourbon, since the discontinuance of Dillon's services. In his communication to Atterbury, dated December 19, 1724, he observes, "As for my letters to M. Le Duc and the Bishop of Frejus, I easily comprehend your perplexity as to the way of their being delivered, and am sensible of the inconveniencies and difficulties in Mr. Murray's having free access to M. Le Duc. You formerly mentioned Mons. de Torcy, who is certainly a sincere friend of mine, and a man of great experience and prudence. If he could be prevailed upon to deliver any message or letters on proper occasions, to Mons. Le Duc, it would I think, be in all respects the properest method to make use of, provided it were not

yet undelivered, because I found myself not fit either to visit or be visited, but by such as would bear with my infirmities. The last of these, notwithstanding his professions of duty, I take to be as determined an adherer to the measures of the three, as any of themselves are, and as difficult to be recovered; and have good reason to believe that he was in the secret of the mischievous Scheme, and thinks his honour, therefore, engaged in supporting that, and the contrivers of it. His eyes therefore will scarce be opened, till Norton's [Dillon] are; which, Sir, (I must repeat it) is a work reserved for you alone, though something here may be done to facilitate the steps you shall please to take in it. As to the letter to the Curé* think-

disagreeable to Mons. Le Duc: you will therefore find here enclosed a letter for the Marquis de Torcy, upon your delivering of which, you will be able easily to discover by your discourse with him, how far it may be proper or he may be inclined to meddle in my affairs; and according as you will find matters, you will proceed with him. In the mean time I send you also a letter for M. Le Duc in Daniel O'Brien's favour, that in case you should have no other way of coming at M. Le Duc, nothing may delay your sending Daniel O'Brien to him, and that nothing may be neglected to open the way towards my having a free communication with the French ministry. You will also find letters here for Mr. Murray to carry to the Maréschal de Villars and the Bishop of Frejus, if you have not some material objection against them when they come to your hands: and for the present I don't see what more can be done in these respects." In another part of the same letter he adds, "I send you here a letter for Sir Patrick Lawless, which will give you an occasion of discoursing with him; tho' I fear, as matters stand, his acquaintance will be of little use." And indeed he seemed to have the same opinion with respect to De Torcy, for in his next letter (December 26) he says, "I am apt to believe M. de Torcy will prove of little use, but that time must show; and that only can discover what further measures may be fitt to be taken in these respects." James' letters to M. de Torcy and Sir Patrick Lawless will be given in the APPENDIX.

* The Curé of St. Sulpice, through whose instrumentality Atterbury hoped to have a freer communication with the Duke of Bourbon. Hay in a letter to the Bishop (October 17, 1724) says, "Mr. Southcoat tells me that he is to introduce to you the Curé of St. Sulpice, who has the character of being a man of great merit; and 'tis said that he is pretty well with Mons. Le

ing myself under less restraints upon a visit from him, I have taken care to have it delivered. It was received I find with great pleasure and respect, for he is certainly a worthy honest man: however, as I have said, upon trial I expect not much from that quarter.

It is certain that in England they are one and all satisfied of the Duke of Mar's conduct, and talk accordingly now very freely and openly; but I am grieved to hear that Lord Lansdown also shares in their censures, and somewhat of that kind is stirring here as well as there, though he has been all along by me, and shall be, treated with the utmost tenderness. He is I find very uneasy at these reports, and inquisitive after the authors of them; not considering that he himself gives the occasion, and that while he acts that part he does at present, it is impossible but that reflections of this kind should pursue his conduct; though all your faithful servants here should endeavour to cover him.*

Duc. His character is well known to the King, and has in all times show'd himself very zealous in every thing where he could contribute to his service. After this you are the best judge what use you may think fit to make of him:" and to Southcoat himself he writes on the same day, "The Curé of St. Sulpice is one of the worthyest men in the world, and a great friend of our master's; and you may safely assure him how sensible the King is of it. I wish he had ten times more interest with Glimes [the Duke of Bourbon] than I am affray'd he has, tho' I am ignorant of that matter. The more engines play, the better, and I am very glad you are to make the Bishop of Rochester acquainted with him." We may suppose that the introduction was productive of further results, as in another letter written on the 7th of November to Atterbury, he observes, "I wish your negociations with the Curé of St. Sulpice may meet with success. He is a friend to the King, to M. Le Duc, and to his own country; and as he is a man of undoubted honor and good sense, no harm can come from it; and the more ways you can fall upon to attack Mons. Le Duc, so much the better." On the 2nd of January, 1725, Hay forwarded the letter to Atterbury mentioned in the text. It bears date, December 31, 1724, and was sent from James himself. It will be found in the APPENDIX.

* Atterbury however much he might regret, or indeed condemn certain

I have attentively perused Sussex's [the Duke of Bourbon] letter, and add only to the reflections upon it, which Lumnsden [Mr. Hay] has communicated to me; that his silence upon the supposed event,* though it leaves him at liberty and concludes neither way, yet seems rather to imply a possibility of his falling in with it; and should Boyle [Cardinal Gualterio] therefore, come hither, or any body else attend Sussex, who can discourse him with freedom on that article, there is room to resume, and perhaps, push that Proposal. May not Boyle be instructed to represent to Sussex, Mercer's [the King's] hopes, that,

parts of Lord Lansdown's conduct, never hesitated to bear testimony to his honourable intentions; as may be seen by a passage in one of his preceding letters [page 107]. He considered his Lordship to have been rather the dupe, than the willing and open-eyed coadjutor of Mar, in many of his late proceedings; and that it was the cunning of the one that made the conduct of the other appear equally suspicious to the Pretender's friends. The disinclination he evinced to consider Mar as bad as had been represented, even after he had been made acquainted with the existence of the Memorial, seems to prove that he judged of Mar's uprightness by his own; not considering, as Atterbury very justly observes, that this conduct gave occasion for the very reflections that were made upon him. How keenly he felt and resented these reports will be seen by the extremely interesting and pithy letter he addressed to the Pretender, given in the APPENDIX.

* The death of King George I. Hay's reflections upon the Duke of Bourbon's reply to two of James' communications, are contained in a letter he wrote to the Bishop on the 2nd of January. He there says, "The King does not write to you himself this post, but orders me to send the copy of Mons. Le Duc's answer to his letters of the 16th and 31st of October; which answer came as you'll see, by Cardinal Gualterio's canal. You'll observe that he does not touch upon the distant event, viz. the Duke of Hannover's death, and gives a decisive answer No, to the article of Avignon; and in a manner that shows that he is fully resolved to stick to his and his predecessor's engagements to the Elector of Hannover. By this you'll easily see, that any further application directly to M. Le Duc at present, must be useless till a change of politick occasions, that those continual advances the King thinks ought to be made by different canals, to those in power, may have some effect, and prevail upon Mons. Le Duc to change his way of thinking, both as to the interest of France and the power of England."

if the juncture at present will not suffer Sussex to do any thing directly for him, yet at least that he will not so far act against him, as to endeavour to draw off others from their designs and determinations to serve him? This put in softer language may surely be said without offence, and without hazarding any breach with the person applied to; but of this, Sir, you are the best judge. Your directions shall be pursued in our not stirring any farther directly in those matters here, but only waiting and preparing the best we can, for better opportunities. If there be any thing in this long letter said otherways than it should be, you'll be pleased to excuse it on the account of the pain and haste under which it is dictated; for I delayed to the last moment, in hopes of being able to write myself, but found I could not. I am,

Sir,
Your ever obedient
and faithful servant.
RAROUR.*

Addressed "To Mr. Mercer," and endorsed [by Mr. Hay] "B. Rochester to the King, January 29th, 1725."

XXVII.

SIR, *Feb.* 20, 1725.

I have with attention perused the copy of Dagget's [the Bishop of Frejus†] Letter, and cannot, in the main, but judge of it, as Mr. Lumnsden [Hay] appears to have done.‡ There is, however, a bare possibility, that it may

* This word does not appear in any cypher. It seems to have been fixed upon by Hay, who tells the Bishop (Nov. 28th, 1724). "I shall address to you for the future, à Mr. de Raroure, of which please advise Mr. Waters."

† André-Hercule de Fleury, afterwards Cardinal.

‡ Hay's opinion of the letter here mentioned was conveyed to Atterbury

have been written, without any express concert with the Duke of Bourbon; and with a view of insinuating to you,

in one from himself, dated January 30, 1725. The following extracts are taken from it. "The letter appears to have been write by order, and in the main, is a second edition to the same purpose with that which Mons. Le Duc wrote to Cardinal Gualterio, of which I sent you a copy. However, as his way of reasoning on several particulars will admit of a reply, the King thinks there can be no harm in representing to him, that the attempt made in 1715, and the spirit shown by the King's friends since that time, has been of no prejudice to his interest at home; — that the number of his faithful subjects are increased three to one since that time; — that the Government of England at present is far from being in so good a condition as he is made believe; — that the little trouble the Government meets with at present from the King's friends, and consequently the apparent security of the Ministry, does not proceed from timidity, or from any inclination that they have to accept the offers made to them by the Government, but from the repeated advices sent them by the King, desiring them to ly quiet; — that so far he is mistaken in the opinion which he seems to have of them. The present situation of the Government; — the corruption of the Parliament, and the dependence and only support that their paper credit is to them, as well as the facility of overturning it, the King thinks ought to be represented fully to the Bishop. The advantage that would accrue to France from the King's Restoration has been so often repeated to them and so little attention given to it, that it seems useless to mention any thing of that, till such time as the Court of France can be undeceived a little of the opinion they have of the strength and power of the English Government, and of the use they think they make of them. You have here enclosed the King's answer to Mons. de Frejus, by which is referred to the Deliverer of it, the enlarging upon the articles above.

"I can't but remark that the Bishop of Frejus has not of a long time, entered so particularly into the King's concerns as he does in this letter; I dont look upon his doing so neither, to proceed from any design he has to be serviceable in them, but I am rather apt to think that Mr. Dillon's conversing no more with M. Le Duc, and consequently the ignorance M. Le Duc may ly under in what the King may propose for his advantage to any other Prince, may be partly the occasion of it, that so they may find out by the answers they receive, whether the King has any view of being assisted by any of the Powers, whose interest may happen to be different from theirs. The Bishop's advice towards the end of his letter, may likewise be constructed to be a kind of a threat, by which he would have the King to understand, that France would act against him if he made any attempt for his Restoration. Whatever may be his meaning, in conversing with him, I

that, if such events should happen, as left him at liberty to pursue his own sentiments (which can be but upon one supposition) you should have better proofs of his friendship, than now he is able to afford you. This may, I say, be the case; though it be highly probable that it is not, and that all is transacted by mutual consent. In either case, to be sure, Sir, these professions of concealed friendship are to be cultivated and improved: though in no degree depended upon. For the steps, here taken, are all so manifestly opposite both to your present and future interest, and tend so directly to cut it up by the very roots (being the result of the applications made, and the advices given by the English Ministry) that one cannot conceive there is any sincerity in the professions which accompany such steps; and which they would be even ashamed to make, did they not hope that you might, at your distance, be unapprized of the measures they are now secretly, but earnestly pursuing. In the letters you have received and will receive ere this arrives, those measures have been so far explained, as light can be got into them. And without doubt, Sir, you cannot but see, that the design is to lull you asleep with fair promises, while they are doing that, which if it takes place, will for ever indispose and unqualify them for performance.

Some reflections upon this state of things naturally offer themselves with regard both to their present conduct towards you, Sir, and your future conduct towards them.

As to the first, it is plain, that they are now more in the dark as to your views and designs, than they used to

believe it may be easy to find it out; and the King thinks, that should they be anxious or jealous of his applying elsewhere for assistance, it may be so much the better that they remain entirely ignorant as to that particular, and that it may rather contribute to bring them sooner into measures with the King, that they believe that others may be willing to assist him if they won't."

be, and consequently under apprehensions of your taking steps they may not like, and careful to treat you in such a manner as is most likely to prevent them. This accounts for the haste wherewith they have lately answered your letters, and the pains they have taken to persuade you of their good meaning, notwithstanding appearances.

It is plain also, that what Dagget says in his letters, is from the suggestions of the English Ministry, whose notions and very language, he manifestly employs: and they therefore are as much in the dark as he and the Duke of Bourbon are, and as solicitous to know in what manner you are working against them.

It appears likewise, that whatever common measures England and France are taking, an absolute calm, in their judgment, is requisite towards rendering them effectual; and that the motions of your friends in particular, at home and abroad, may be prejudicial to them; which shews that their scheme has in itself great difficulties, and such as they cannot hope to master, if they are at the same time encumbered with others.

These, Sir, being their views, you will be pleased to consider, whether you are not to open yourself to them as little, and keep them still as much in the dark with regard to your intentions, as is possible; without seeming at the same time absolutely to distrust their sincerity, or to give them any handle to retreat from the Assurances given by them.

Whether it may not be proper on this account, that you should take some time, ere you answer Dagget's letter; and then answer it in such a manner, as to shew, that though the civility of it pleases, yet it does not mislead you. The very delay you shall use in this case, will be of some significance, and yet cannot be ill taken: provided it does not seem to have sprung from your compliance with the advice they have given you, of sitting perfectly still.

Which mistake will be easily prevented, by the manner of your writing, and by what the person, who is to attend Dagget in the mean time, may modestly hint to him, with relation to the advices you may have received, and the alarm they may have given you. This I take to be clear, that the less they think they do, the less they will endeavour to deceive you, and will be induced the more easily to act an open and fair part with you: whereas, if they apprehend their impositions take place to their wish, they will have no reason, nor the least inclination to change this conduct.

England may find its account in a calm, which may give them room to ripen the scheme of moderation, that is intended for the destruction of your interest. And France also may reap advantages from it, as their affairs now stand. But surely they should not, by any slip on your side, be encouraged absolutely to depend upon it: but should rather apprehend without being directly told so, that you cannot neglect any opportunity of doing yourself justice, that may at any time be put into your hands.

After all, Sir, I think (as they do, or pretend to do) that your present real interest is, to lie still, as to any Attempt, though not as to the measures and negociations that may prepare the way for it: but I wish that they may think you not to be altogether unprovided in this case, and to have more resources in your view, than they are aware of. And really the state of things both in the north and south, seem to look so much towards such an alteration as may be for your advantage, that I doubt not but they themselves who give you fine words, see clearer than we can, a possibility of some thing turning up for your service.

For these reasons, Sir, I am humbly of opinion, that some delay should be used in answering Dagget's letter, till you can obtain further lights from hence, which I hope a conference with him may produce; and then that he

should be written to in such a manner, as to shew that you are aware of the sad consequences of the schemes now on the anvil.*

* There is a copy in Edgar's hand writing, of a letter from James to the Bishop of Frejus, dated March 25th, 1725, in the Collection. From its language it is presumed to be the answer to the one animadverted upon by Atterbury in this letter; and if so, the date will prove that he followed the advice here given, "that some delay should be used in answering Dagget's letter." This conclusion is come to, notwithstanding that particular passage of Hay's communication, as given in the note on page 136, which states that he "sends enclosed the King's answer to M. de Frejus;" because it is known that it was a privilege conceded by James to Atterbury, to keep back or deliver such letters as were forwarded to him from the Chevalier for other parties, as he might see fit; and it is evident from the language he here uses, that he did not think it desirable to send a reply to the Bishop of Frejus just at this period. It is therefore probable that he returned the letter mentioned by Hay, to James; who, seemingly contented himself with modifying or altering it in part only, and subsequently returning it as the answer to the letter received from the Bishop of Frejus of the 8th of January. This opinion is strengthened by that particular passage in this letter (written on the 20th of February) where Atterbury states his approval of that part of James' letter, in which he declares himself against rash and ungrounded attempts; and refers to the quietness of his friends (meaning his party in England) as proceeding from his orders;—which it will be seen, are almost the very words of the Pretender's French letter, dated March 25th, translated into English; as the reader will be able to judge by the following extracts, which also show that Atterbury's other suggestion was not lost upon James.

He begins by observing, "Je ne me suis pas pressé de répondre à votre lettre du huit Janvier, m'assurant que vous ne douterez pas de ma sensibilité à l'amitié que vous m'y témoigniez, et voyant du reste avec une juste peine que tout ce que j'auray pũ dire d'ailleurs seront inutile dans la présente conjuncture:" and then proceeds, "Je n'entray pas icy dans des détails que vous aurez appris, ou que vous apprendrez de M. Murray; je dirai seulement que les projets vagues et prematurés n'ont jamais été de mon goût. J'ay beaucoup prêché par le passé, la tranquilité et la prudence à mes amis en Angleterre, et vous en avez vũe l'effet, mais selon les apparences notre présente politique ne subsistera pas long temps. J'ay toujours souhaitté de devoir mon rétablissement a mes sujets seuls, et ce seroit avec peine que je les verray soutenues par aucune autre puissance que la France, ne pouvent oublir ce que ma famille doit a la posterité du feũ Roy T. C.

Le sistême présent de politique en France me fait une juste peine; le

I extremely approve that part of your letter where you declare yourself against rash ungrounded attempts; and represent the present quietness of your friends as proceeding from your orders; and withal assure him that they are not lessened in their number or zeal, notwithstanding any present appearances. But I humbly beg, that you would not put him upon any further enquiries of me,* in relation to the present state of Garroway [England]: for he is in no condition to relish what I have to offer on that head; which may at another time, when he shall be better disposed, be more successful. This court is now warm in the pursuit of their negociations with another, and will hearken to nothing that may retard or divert them. But a time may soon come and events arise, which will render them more tractable.

I have explained to you, Sir, my thoughts on these heads, as well as my present infirmities will permit.

temps fera voir si la monarchie y trouvera son avantage, mais si on me veut sincèrement du bien, on ne détournera pas au moins, les autres Puissances de me favorizer, et on ne l'engagera pas en des mésures qui rendroient le soutient de ma cause impracticable ou difficile a l'avenir:" and he concludes this particular part of his letter by saying, "Je sens comme je dois les attentions de M. Le Duc pour moy dans les recommendations que je luy fais, mais je suis impatient de voir croître mes obligations envers luy dans les choses essentielles, et c'est alors que je pourray la convaincre de mes veritables sentiments envers luy et sa famille." This letter was delivered to the Bishop of Frejus by Mr. Murray, who on the 23rd of April gives a long account of his interview, in a despatch he then sent to Mr. Hay; which is given in the APPENDIX.

* James answered this letter on the 28th of March, and in his reply says, "I delayed answering your letter of the 20th of February till I was enabled to determine about how I should write to the Bishop of Frejus. The enclosed paquet for Mr. Murray leaves me nothing to say on that head but that you see I have not named you in this letter to the Bishop of Frejus, as what I thought would be most agreeable to you, and give you a greater latitude in the method of pursuing your negociations with him according to the circumstances of time. Your solid reflections on these matters are most acceptable to me, as all will be that comes from you."

These must excuse any mistakes I may have made in my reasonings; which, though they may proceed from want of health, capacity, or light, yet certainly spring from a very good meaning: for I am,

Sir,

Your ever faithful

and most obedient Servant,

Endorsed [by Mr. Hay] "B. Rochester to the King, February 20th, 1725."

XXVIII.

SIR, *March* 26, 1725.

The Affair of Spain is now come to a crisis. Sir Patrick Lawless went away yesterday morning at five o'clock, and left orders (as he himself said) for Montelione to follow him. I hope that is true, and not another Report I have had from no ill hands, that he is to retire only to some place in France at a good distance from Paris. This is not probable nor agreeable to the abrupt and peremptory methods taken in other respects, and therefore I mention it only, without giving credit to it. The Ministers of Spain at Cambray are ordered to withdraw, and I suppose, actually withdrawn: so that Assembly is broken up.

The Infanta goes away certainly and soon, though the precise day is not yet adjusted.*

* The breaking off the match between the young King of France and the Spanish Infanta, was looked upon by James as a means of turning the resentment of the King of Spain to his own purposes. On the 21st of April he wrote to the Duke of Ormonde, instructing him to deliver certain letters, which he sent inclosed, "to their Catholic Majesties." In his letter to the Duke, he observes, "By the accounts I have from France, I perceive the King of Spain is very much exasperated at the Infanta's return: how far he may be able or willing to drive his resentment is uncertain, but I am hopeful that his present disposition may incline him to harken more willingly to pro-

The good news from Muscovy continues and increases, though it be yet wrapped up in general assurances, except

posals in my favour; especially if by restoring me he can forsee an outlet and a remedy to the Particular which gives him now so much uneasyness. It is in this view that I have wrote the enclosed letters to their Catholick Majesties, of whom you will ask an audience, and endeavour to obtain it as soon as possible; and in delivering my letters, represent to them the present ferment my subjects are in, and the violent measures which the Government of England is pursuing, which cannot but exasperate the people yet more against them, and encrease their good will towards me; particularly at a time when they see my family and interest strengthened by the birth of a second son: adding, that the acting in my favour while such happy circumstances concur to facilitate the success, ought to be a great encouragement to their Catholick Majesties to lose no time in taking a definitive resolution; especially when they consider that their laying so great an obligation on the English nation as that of freeing them from their present oppression, will not a little contribute to authorize and capacitate me after my Restoration, not only to enter into the strictest allyance with the crown of Spain, but to promote with the power of England, all that may tend to the satisfaction, advantage, and honour of our common Benefactor."

The "outlet and remedy" and "the strictest allyance" mentioned in this extract are only dark expressions for what he states in more intelligible language in a subsequent part of the same letter. Thinking it probable that the King of Spain might express some apprehension of his receiving opposition from France, were he to take upon himself to act in James' favour,— the Chevalier instructs Ormonde to quiet his fears, by assuring him, "now that the first minister's private interest manifestly leads him to support that of the King of Spain's family, one may reasonably expect that Mons. Le Duc would even be glad to assist and forward His Catholick Majesty's designs in my favour, at least underhand, especially if the King of Spain desire it of him; as the only method of repairing the injury lately done him, by opening the way to a suitable match for his daughter." Adding, "You will easily see that what I drive at, is my son's marrying the Infanta; and on that is grounded my present representations, and the chief hopes of succeeding in them: but yet I think it not advisable for you to say the thing directly, except their Catholic Majesties seem to enter into your insinuations in that respect."

He concludes by observing, "I doubt not of your negociating these important Affairs with the greatest prudence and zeal. They require to be much insisted on, and as soon as possible: and I am full of hopes that we shall succeed, and that you will yet have the honour and satisfaction of having, both on this side of the sea and t'other, the greatest share in my Restoration."

the intimations given about Norway and what may be done from thence, of which Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] has, I suppose, informed you. To his and to Finlay's [James Murray] accounts I leave many other particulars; which, taken together, confirm me in the opinion I have entertained, that the advantage is to be laid hold of and an Attempt made.*

* There were many appearances which, just at this time, tended to buoy up James' hopes of assistance, notwithstanding the death of the Czar; the resentment of the King of Spain at the treatment the Infanta had met with, in being sent back from France; and the good feeling with which he flattered himself, the Empress of Russia looked upon his cause, were the principal: and there is reason to believe from certain expressions in his correspondence, that a movement of some sort was contemplated, in aid probably, of the Highlanders, who felt disposed to resist the intended measure of the Government to disarm them. In his answer to this letter (April 11) he tells the Bishop "It is a great misfortune our friends in England are not in any condition of acting by themselves at this time. The nation was never more exasperated nor better disposed; and any motion there would certainly hasten some Foreign Power to join his assistance for the finishing stroak: but by all I hear from home, I have not the least hopes that any thing can be begun there at this time, considering the little harmony there is among them. Affairs abroad never looked better, and it is highly necessary to hasten as much as possible, the execution of favourable intentions, and to putt ourselves in a readyness to profitt of that event. I see with pleasure your whole thoughts are turned that way, and so are mine; but till I hear further from the north, no particular plan can be made. Could you not think of some clever and trusty person to send to the Duke of Ormonde, who could inform him of your sentiments, and give him all necessary lights easyer and better than can be done by writing; and be at the same time of some use to him in manadgeing negociations at that court where just and nice matters may probably be transacted in my favour."

In his next letter to Atterbury (April 17) he says, "I am very glad you were to send into England, where it is so necessary our friends should be at least prepared for some happy event from abroad, if they cannot prevent it and hasten it by beginning to act on their own bottom; but of that last I see little appearance, for every body is not so active as Lord Wharton, who writes often to me and wants no spurr." He afterwards adds, "I shall write to the Duke of Ormonde, and send him letters for their Catholick Majesties to see what they can be prevailed on to do at a time they are so exasperated against

Spain and Muscovy have, it seems, understood one another for some time, on this head: from the time, I suppose, that Spain had accounts of the match* treating in good earnest with England. Their conjunction will now be closer, and may be made effectual, if, upon this breach, Cardinal Alberoni returns.

The opportunity though, is great, and should be laid hold of, with all possible dispatch. All is but little enough, to make the several distant parts of such an extended scheme, work together and succeed.

To prepare matters a little, I have ventured to discourse the person, whose Memoire is enclosed in my letter to Lumnsden [Mr. Hay]; because that provision will always be of use, whatever be the plan; and he will certainly perform even more than he promises, upon due notice given, and will neglect every thing in the world, in order to attend the affair entirely.†

France, and must look on my Restoration by their means, to be the surest and quickest method to provide anew for their beloved daughter."

But their Catholic Majesties could not be prevailed on to do any thing in James' favour; for although it appears from another of his letters to Ormonde (July 21), that the Duke had had an audience of them; yet as late as the 4th of August, when he again wrote to the Duke, he says, "I have received no sign of life from their Catholick Majesties, who, on the Nuncio's representing to them my interest in the present juncture, by the Pope's order; made a very dry answer to him, and a positive refusal to enter into the proposed measures in my favour at present. I am afraid the Pope's representations at foreign courts, have not much weight, and that makes what was said to the Nuncio, appear of less consequence to me; and one may even suppose it was to hide views of quite another nature."

* Between the young King of France [Louis XV.] and one of the Princesses of the Royal Family of England. If such a match were ever seriously contemplated, it seems by this time to have been put aside, for James in a letter to the Duke of Ormonde (April 7, 1725) says, "Cardinal Polignac sent his secretary to me on the arrival of the last French post, to tell me that the report of a marriage between his master and a Princess of Hannover was groundless, and would never be; and I have a letter writ by M. de Morville which says the same thing."

† There was enclosed in Atterbury's own letter, a Memoire or Memo-

I think it also proper to discourse General Hamilton before he goes to Holland (which will be in about a week) concerning the arms* lying there; that the person in

randum, dated March 24, 1725, and signed by Sir Nicolas Geraldin, concerning the hireing and equipping "several good ships" at St. Malo, from sixteen to thirty gunns; as well as promising "to undertake to provide and equip at his own cost and expence, a very good frigate, well mann'd, for His Majesty's service." There is reason to believe that this is the document mentioned by Atterbury as being sent to Rome in the letter he, at the same time, wrote to Lumnsden; and that Hay subsequently placed it in the Bishop's own communication to James, where it was found. Sir Nicolas on the 30th of April, 1725, writes to James, and after thanking him for some favours conferred on himself and his son, reiterates his willingness, by observing, "In my particular I will bee alwayes reddie to furnish the frigat I have had the honnor to offer Your Maiestie, and ther is nothing shee will command mee, butt I will doe with zeale, for I will thinck myselfe happie to loose my life in her service."

The subject appears to have been touched upon before by other parties, for Hay in his letter to the Bishop, dated February 20, 1725, says, "My Lord Marischall, I think I informed you, was not acquainted with the particulars to be proposed by the St. Malo Gentleman, but referred that Gentleman to you; and I dont remember to have proposed to you to acquaint Sir Nicolas [Geraldin] with the Gentleman's project; only being that he was of St. Malo, I thought Sir Nicolas could give you a character of him, and inform you of his circumstances, by which you could judge whether what he proposed might appear an extravagant thing for him to undertake: and 'tis always good to keep up negociations of that sort; for we dont know how soon an opportunity may offer, where such people may be of the greater use: and I am affray'd, the proposer may look upon the delay there has been in treating with him upon the offer he made, to be a slighting of his proposal."

This was not the first time that Sir Nicolas Geraldin had offered a ship for the Chevalier's service, for we find in a letter written to him by James, dated August 10, 1724, the following passage, "I am extremely obliged to you for the offer you make me of a ship, but I have at present no occasion for any, and shall not fail giving you previous advertisement whenever that time comes, that you may not be at any useless trouble or expence." The Memorandum mentioned as being found in Atterbury's letter is printed in the APPENDIX.

* James had a large collection of arms, both at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in the custody of a Mr. William Dundass. These appear to have been transferred, a short time before Atterbury wrote this letter, to the care of Patrick Cruickshanks and Benjamin Gascoign — the former taking charge

whose hands they are, may receive from one upon the spot, proper orders for the delivery and disposal of them, when that shall be necessary.

In the mean time somewhat is preparing* to be deli-

of those at Amsterdam; — the latter of those at Rotterdam. These arms were examined by General Hamilton on his return to Holland, who wrote to Hay on the 30th of April, 1725, from Rotterdam, informing him "that he had been to Amsterdam to look after some goods of His Majesty, which he found in tolerable good order, considering the tym they have not been visited." Besides these, there was another collection in the keeping of Robert Arbuthnot at Rouen; and, from an expression in Hay's Letter to General Hamilton, dated December 1, 1725, it appears clear that there was another, in a place not indeed indicated, but well known to the General; for Hay observes, when speaking of the collections at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, "could these be transported where the arms you are acquainted with, are; or the last be placed where either of these two parcels are; that would save, in all probability, warehouse hyre:" a point in Hay's estimation of some consequence, as may be seen from another passage in the same letter. He says, "there is some money yet due upon them, for which the King pays high interest; and the charges of keeping of them in the way they are in, is so considerable, that it were to be wished, that they could be taken safely out of the hands they now ly in, and be entrusted to the care of some other person whose fidelity and credit one can depend upon. We have till the end of March next to settle this matter, all expences being pay'd for them till that time; and then the King will rather make any shift for the money, than not clear them out of the hands they are in." They appear, however, eventually to have been left in the care of Gascoign.

In the early part of this year (February 6, 1725) Hay had been in correspondence with O'Brien on this subject; and he then informed him of "the King's determination as to the arms. He is of opinion," he adds, "they ought to continue six months longer in the hands they are now in;" and then on a separate paper, which although addressed to O'Brien, was intended for Dillon's perusal, as it contained observations regarding the payment, he observes, "The number of the arms nor the prime cost, does not appear in the account; but, it is believed, they are 10,000." There are many letters and documents relating to these arms; but it will be sufficient to observe here that General Hamilton on his arrival, obtained access to them, and that they underwent a minute inspection from him.

* The allusion in this passage is to a Memorial which, as the reader will find by a note to Letter XXX., was delivered to Prince Kurakin on the 28th of April. Lumley was the cant name for Kurakin in O'Brien's cypher, as Methuen was in that of Atterbury.

vered to Methuen [Prince Kurakin] in two or three days, as a general groundwork for what shall be resolved on, opening some materiall views, and giving the proper lights and encouragements.

This is all that seems fit or possible to be done in the present dark state of things, till further lights and directions come from yourself, which will scarce, I suppose, be, till you hear by Captain Hay directly from Muscovy; and that can scarce be yet these two months.

The Duke of Mar talks every day of leaving this place, and makes great enquiries after a house in some distant part of France. I wish he were in earnest, and actually gone; for I apprehend ill consequences from his inquisitive temper and the number of little instruments that still adhere to him.

There is one very dark point in the late transactions, which under my many disadvantages for want of health and strength, I can noways penetrate into; and that is, how far the Duke of Hannover has concerted the measures He and France entered into with the Emperor, and had his underhand consent to them: and yet this, I take it, is necessary to be understood, in order to form a judgment, how far Guthry [the Emperor] will favor the resentments of Spain, and consequently not oppose any future enterprise he shall engage in. But of these things, Sir, you will be pleased fully to inform yourself, and to impart as much as is necessary for the conduct of others.

I am, Sir,

Your ever faithful and most

Obedient Servant.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rochester to the King, March 26th, 1725."

XXIX.

[Although there is no direct intimation of the person to whom the two following letters (which are in Atterbury's own hand-writing) are addressed, it may be safely inferred, from internal evidence, that they were written to Mr. Hay. This conclusion may be arrived at, as well from the phraseology of the letters themselves, which, in many instances, shows a marked difference from that employed when writing to the Chevalier; as from certain passages referring to Accounts to be transmitted, by others, to the person he was then addressing. That this person was Hay himself may, it is thought, be proved from the existence of what are believed to be the very letters of Murray and O'Brien so referred to: bearing the same date with this of the Bishop, and containing the precise information indicated by him in the paragraph towards the conclusion of the following letter (No. XXIX). The Address of O'Brien's letter has not, it is true, been preserved, but the manner in which he subscribes himself, clearly indicates that it was not intended for James, but for his minister — Mr. Hay.

The evidence as regards the second of these letters (No. XXX.) is yet more conclusive, — the passage in the early part of it, referring to Mr. Murray's conference with the Bishop of Frejus, concerning which it is stated that the person addressed "will have by this post a large account," placing the matter beyond doubt, as may be seen by Murray's letter to Lord Inverness, giving a minute detail of his interview, which is now in the Collection.]

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *April* 16, 1725.

I shall be in pain till I hear, (as, I hope, I shall by the next post) that Mercer's [the King's] indisposition is over. He, and his faithful friends and servants, had never more need of firm health and close application, than at this critical juncture, when we may reasonably expect events, upon which the fate of his cause may turn.

I enter into this reflection the more sensibly, because I find myself under an incapacity of serving him in the manner I would, by reason of the many disadvantages I am under

and particularly the ill health that attends me. For, though my gout be over for a time, and I am, in other respects, better than I have been for some years, yet the strangury pains continuing upon me, are so troublesome, and I may truly say, tormenting, that they deprive me often of some of that little time, and those few opportunities I have left, to serve him.

I am not apt to complain, or to make the worst of myself, in such cases: but it is fit that Mercer should know the truth of my case, that his expectations may not be disappointed.

He has, I thank him, eased me, in some respects, of a burthen, for which I always knew and said, I was no ways qualified, by not mentioning me* in his letters to the great here, as a person he was willing should confer with them upon all his Affairs. I hope he will be pleased to continue that conduct, which, I think, every ways right. He may see by Dagget's [the Bishop of Frejus] last letter, that the person† employed is welcome to him; and, as that person will be able to attend M. de Frejus oftentimes, without raising the jealousies of the English Minister, so I doubt not but he will, in all respects, discharge the trust reposed in him, on that behalf, with prudence and success. I, for my part, shall be ready on all occasions, to assist, with the best advice I am able to give, on all matters that are laid before me. And while I do so, the less I appear in things, the better: at least, thus I have always judged, and been always willing to practise.

The mention of that letter (a copy of which Finlay [Mr. Murray] shewed me) gives me an occasion to say somewhat about the manner and turn of it. If Mercer [the

* This is particularly noticed by James in reference to the letter he wrote to the Bishop of Frejus, as will be seen by the note to Letter XXVII. on page 141.

† The Hon. James Murray

King] approves what I say, he knows what use to make of it: if he does not approve, he will however excuse it.

That letter seems to be written not only with great civility, but with an air of sincerity too. If that be the case, I should hope it may spring from some foresight Dagget may have, that the interests of France, with regard to its neighbours, are soon likely to vary, and to give room to those who have good dispositions towards the King, to prove them by real facts. Whereas, God knows, that has hitherto been far from being the case. The best words in the world have been given, and given manifestly to conceal the measures that were then actually taking, in express contradiction to those assurances. That may not be the present case, when the alteration of the scheme of affairs now approaching, may, I say, possibly have produced new views, and new intentions, out of a just apprehension that others may take that in hand, which has been so long neglected by those who were more obliged to it. And therefore, though I shall pass no judgement in this case, yet I shall venture to say that, (considering what has past) there cannot be too great wariness used in the manner of receiving those approaches, so as neither to seem to distrust them, nor yet absolutely to rely upon them, without a farther satisfaction given than what is merely verbal. I need not explain myself further: but choose rather to refer to hints I have given in former letters; from which I do not yet see much cause to vary. Nor would I have gone so far, upon so nice an occasion, were I not throughly satisfied, that the honor and interest of Mercer require, that those who deal with him in such matters, should find, that they cannot impose on him.

I shall proceed now to answer his question;—and not knowing perfectly who are to be understood by the *Attachers* and the *Attached* mentioned in it, I shall yet

endeavor to answer that part by telling you all I know of the whole.*

The only person who has talked that language to me is Mr. de Marches, in the presence and with the consent of Madame Mezieres. He was remarkably earnest in that thought, and made it the subject of our discourse for half an hour, wherein I could not find that he had any assurances given him in the case, otherwise than from his own reasonings; and those, I own, did not convince me. He may have had other grounds to go upon, which he thought not fit to impart: and I cannot but observe, that since the diffidence expressed by me on this point, he has kept his distance, and never repeated his visit, though I tempted him to it, by returning his, notwithstanding my ill health and lameness. That I might be sure of him, I gave Madame Mezieres notice of my coming; and he made use of that notice so as to keep out of the way. I entered into it again with her alone, and would have known the grounds of his opinion; but could get nothing further from her, than that she thought what he said, was the sense of some friend or friends, that he corresponded with in England.

In the mean time, I cannot but observe, that both he and she are frequently with the English Falconer [Minister] here; and that there is of late a remarkable acquaintance struck up between the two families; with what views, I pretend not to say.

I will own to you, that both before and since my conversation with De Marches, I have considered that point with attention. But though I found much more and stronger probabilities for it than those he mentioned, yet I

* This part of the Bishop's letter must remain unexplained, as both James's and Hay's correspondence with him during the months of March, April and May 1725, is missing.

could never bring myself to a belief of it; and therefore have never troubled Mercer with my reflections concerning it. However, since by the question he puts, he seems not to neglect that thought, I shall tell you, what has passed in my mind with relation to it: of which I have said somewhat (and but a little) to Finlay [Mr. Murray] and Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien], keeping my reserve entirely to everybody else.

It is obvious that, whether by chance or on purpose, the three kingdoms have been lately and eminently disobliged, as well as the several ranks and orders of men in one of them. The attempt about the money* in Ireland, was pursued much longer, and more obstinately than in prudence it ought to have been, and though given up at last, has left some ill-blood behind it. So has that of imposing a new tax on Scotland.† England has been disobliged by keeping up the additional forces without rime or reason; and even several of those among them have been startled at it, who complied with it. But what is

* This refers to Wood's patent for coining Irish half-pence, which, like most other government measures at this time, became a violent party question. Swift entered, with his accustomed violence, into the dispute, and furiously attacked the ministry and the patentee, in "The Drapier's Letters." The Reader will find full information on the subject in Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. ii.

† The malt tax, or rather a duty of sixpence on every barrel of ale, in lieu of it. Walpole was disinclined to moot this question, but finding the sense of the House in favour of Mr. Broderick's proposition, he was obliged to give way, but reduced the impost one half. Even in this modified form, however, he found great difficulty in bringing the Scotch members into his views, and accomplished it only by assuring them, that the money was necessary to enable him to keep the promise he had entered into, of allowing each of them ten guineas a week during the session. The tax created great disturbances throughout Scotland, and at Glasgow particularly, it caused a serious riot, in which nine persons were killed and many wounded by the military, before order was restored.

doing as to the city of London, is still more extraordinary; has been already attended by great heats in that body; and will be followed by greater, should it take place. In me, the Clergy were particularly struck at; in Lord M——d,* the Law; in Lord Cadogan, the soldiers. All this (and more that could be added) may have happened by chance, and have proceded from too great an opinion of their own strength and security; and yet it carries evident marks of another kind of management, which, however, I, for my part, cannot comprehend, knowing so well as I do, the characters of Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townsend. And yet if any thing could at last have convinced me of it, it would have been the Treaty of a match between France and England, which was carried on for some months in the greatest earnest (though it be now said to be dropped) and was certainly as rash and unpopular a step, as could have been taken. However I conclude nothing from all this, but that from what motive soever these things may have sprung, the use to be made of them is the same, and must not be neglected.

The copy of the letter† to Norton [General Dillon] sent me, is in a style that will work, if any thing can. Perhaps he may at last obey; unless he can excuse himself by his being called away to the two on the borders of Spain, as the rumor now runs.

The resentments of Spain against France are as high as

* Thomas Parker, Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor of England, was charged with selling the places of the Masters in Chancery; and after having been obliged to resign, was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. He attempted to justify his conduct by the example of his predecessors, but on his trial, which lasted twenty days, the charges were fully proved against him, and he was sentenced to pay a fine of £30,000.

† That mentioned in the note to Letter XXVI., page 126.

you can wish: and therefore in a post or two, I hope to hear that Cardinal Alberoni is returned.

I have received a second letter from Henry [Lord North], but understand as little of it, as of the first; only I see by it that I shall now have his confidence entirely.

I expect in a little time to hear from England, and should be glad to find things were ripe for carrying on a closer correspondence there. Till that is the case, it seems wisdom to me to sit perfectly still. I have from thence the twenty-one Articles of the Impeachment of the late Chancellor [Macclesfield]: but they are not worth transmitting to you. It is pretty plain by them, and by the steps taken, that his punishment will not be a very severe one.

As to Rottier, nobody I suppose, talks to him but upon the affair of making a Medal; and upon that he may, and must be trusted, being the greatest artist of his time. I hope for a favourable answer to the request he has made.* I transmitted your letter immediately to the gentleman in Holland. Nothing can show the nature of Filmore [Lord Mar] more than such a paltry contrivance; which must at last be found out, and could hurt nobody but the framer.

I see not any thing else in your letter that requires an answer.

* The precise nature of this request cannot, by the loss of a portion of Hay's Correspondence for 1725, be ascertained. It may, however, be supposed, from an expression in a subsequent letter of Atterbury, that it was of a pecuniary nature, and that it was not complied with by James. There is a letter (without date) from Norbert Roettiers in the Collection, addressed to the Queen, [Clementina Sobieski] with which he forwarded "deux petits ouvrages de ma façon, comme un homage que je me tiens obligé de rendre à la Royale Epouse de mon souverain," and then requests Clementina "de vouloir bien me faire la même grace que le Roy, en m' honnorant de ses commandemens affin que je puisse avoire son portrait en profil du meilleur maistre de Rome, pour luy marquer mon zèle tres respecteux, pour son service."

The inclosed* from Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] will tell you if there be any thing new from the North, as I do not hear that there is; and for accounts from hence, especially in relation to Stanislaus' daughter, I refer you to him and Finlay [Mr. Murray]. All Paris speaks one language in that respect at present, and agree that what was so long treated on betwixt England and France, is laid aside; the difficulties being found insuperable. England has at least been able by that offer, and the terms insisted on, to divide Dunbar [France] and Spain, and play the game by that means into the Emperor's hands. And I doubt not but they have put a due value upon their skill and dexterity in that respect, to Guthry [the Emperor] and his Falconers [Ministers], at the same time that they have here pretended to enter into measures for bringing the Emperor to reason; and have been able for a long time to persuade the Court of Dunbar [France] of their sincerity in that respect. Who knows but a due reflection on this conduct may at last awaken them?

'Tis time to put an end to your trouble and mine, in reading and writing so long a letter — in which though you find little of consequence, you will yet find my real and

* A letter, from O'Brien [to Mr. Hay] of the same date with this of the Bishop. It touches upon the state of the negociations with Russia, but observes the Government was then "si ocupé a preparer tout pour les funerailles du Czar, et a regler les affaires interieures de l'Etat, que cela a, en partie, suspendus toutes les estrangeres;" and then mentions the marriage of Louis XV. with the daughter of Stanislaus, observing on this latter event "si ce mariage a lieu, vraysemblablement Leviston [the King, i. e. James] en tirera quelques avantage." Murray also wrote to the Pretender on the same day, but the greater portion of his letter is taken up with information relative to the renewed attempt of Bolingbroke and the Duke of Berwick to enter into negociation with James. The one above alluded to, is that he sent at the same time, to Hay. It relates to the subject of the marriage of Louis XV. but contains little beyond report, or what he could glean from "those who have relation with the Court, and not as a thing of which he had any particular knowledge."

free sentiments, in every case where they are desired, or I am otherwise tempted to give them.

No more for the present, beyond assurances that I am, &c.

Pardon the blank page in the middle of the letter, I miss'd it in the haste of writing.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rochester, April 16th, 1725."

XXX.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *April* 23, 1725.

Before I say any thing in answer to yours of April 4, give me leave to express to you the satisfaction I had in perusing the King's letter to the Bishop of Frejus; which I thought every ways suitable to his own dignity and interest, as well as to the true situation of things here. I am justified in that thought by what happened in the conference betwixt Finlay [Mr. Murray] and the Bishop of Frejus, of which you have, by this post, a large account.* Its following immediately upon the delivery and perusal of that letter, shews that it had a good effect, since it produced those further marks of friendship and confidence, and those free declarations which seem to be real, and of which the King will now be informed. I doubt not but Mercer's [the King's] proceeding in the same method, and shewing that he is well apprized of the true state of things, and no

* This is the communication from Murray to Hay alluded to in the note at the head of the preceding letter. So much of it as relates to the interview with the Bishop of Frejus will be found in the APPENDIX to Letter XXVII.

ways disheartened by that thought, will more and more tend to the same end, and make some people more in earnest, than for some years past they have been. I take leave often to repeat this thought, because I look upon it as a principle, to which too much attention cannot be given, in every step that shall be taken.

Let me add, that the appearances of sincerity in this last dialogue are so strong, that there is no room left to suspect them on any other foot than this, that they may possibly spring from a concert betwixt the Duke of Bourbon and the Bishop of Frejus, and even that supposition may be so improved to Mercer's [the King's] advantage, as to bring about what he aims at, when a fair opportunity offers; as I have great hopes it soon will. In the mean time, I congratulate you on this prospect, and despair not of being able, in a few posts, to render what I now say on this head, more intelligible.

I have seen what you say of a very significant hint given by Finlay [Mr. Murray] in relation to the Infanta:* but beg it may be considered, whether that can come by way of proposal from the King in his present circumstances; and whether if it does, it can have any (I mean any good) effect.

* In regard to the marriage of James' eldest son to the Infanta, which we find by the extract from the Chevalier's letter to the Duke of Ormonde, given in the note on page 143, was the object he aimed at, after the contract with Louis XV. had been broken off. The particular letter referred to by Atterbury has not been found, but the subject appears to have been touched upon by Murray at his interview with the Bishop of Frejus, where after speaking of the probable rupture between the two crowns, he asked the Bishop "if he did not believe our King [meaning James] could be of use in that matter. He answered immediately that he really believed he might, because he knew the great regard and friendship the King of Spain had for him:" and Murray then suggested "that something agreeable might be proposed to the Queen of Spain in relation to the marriage of her favourite daughter, and that the Spanish nation might find their account also as to Port Mahon and Gibraltar, and in many other respects, if our King was re-established.

Mercer's [the King's] good offices towards making up the breach, is indeed a point of great moment, and may be serviceable to himself in several respects. I wish that plan may go forward: for then he would either have the merit of it, if it succeeded, or other kind of advantages, if it did not.*

* A suggestion is thrown out by Murray in his communication to Hay of the 23rd of April, 1725, "that the Duke of Bourbon was endeavouring to make up matters with the King of Spain, through the mediation of King George." That the court of France was extremely anxious upon this point, may be presumed from what Murray further states about some earnest letters that were sent to the Pope, begging him to interpose in the quarrel; and from the fact communicated in Hay's letters to Mr. Murray and the Bishop of Rochester, dated June 6, 1725, wherein it appears that a communication to the same purport, had been conveyed from the King of France's confessor to James himself. In the letter to Murray, Hay observes, "you'll find here inclosed the copy of a letter the King of France's confessor has write to Father Sabran, an English Jesuit here; as well as the King's answer directly to the confessor. The King orders me to send them to you, that so you may be the more able to discover, in your discourse with the Bishop of Frejus, whether that confessor had orders to address himself particularly to the King, or if his doing so, proceeds only from the general commission he had given him, and which he mentions in his letter, of writing to all those both at Rome and Madrid, who he thought could be of use in softning the King of Spain in the measures he seems inclined to follow. If the confessor expects that the King should preach up conscience to the King of Spain, which is the argument by which they expect to bring him to do what they please, he wil see by the King's answer, that it is upon another footing the King proposes to deal with them; and if Pere Lengeres, write that letter by particular order, his answer to the King will show it . . . . The king thinks it might be a great advantage to him, if his mediation in this affair upon a right footing, could be agreeable both to France and Spain; and desires you would manage your discourse with the Bishop of Frejus accordingly; after communicating this letter and what comes inclosed in it, to the Bishop of Rochester, and receiving his advice upon it." In his letter to Atterbury, Hay says, "I sent by this post to Mr. Murray, a copy of a letter write by the king of France's confessor to an English Jesuit here, which he writes in the supposition that that person is *à porté* of talking with the King and engaging him into what he proposes. The King's answer will show upon what footing only, His Majesty thinks it proper for him to employ his mediation betwixt France and Spain; and that H. M. does not think it his business to preach to the King

That which surprizes me most in this discourse of the Bishop of Frejus, is the hint given of his knowledge of somewhat doing a-late betwixt Madrid and Muscovy,* in the King's favour, and his keeping that matter secret, not from the Duke of Bourbon to be sure — and why from others, unless both wished it success, provided they had no occasion to appear in it? That is the point to be pushed, if nothing further can be obtained; and that methinks I foresee, will be granted, if the several trains take fire elsewhere. But it is time to come to some points contained in your letter.

of Spain, tho' it may be theirs; but he is ready to use his endeavours with him, providing France authorize him to do it in a manner becoming his character. However from this, one may remark, the great inclination France has to make up with Spain; and I hope from these lights, and from the advice you give Mr. Murray upon it, he may be enabled to judge better of M. de Frejus's discourse with him, and improve it more to the King's advantage." However Murray himself had, seemingly, come to the conclusion at the time he wrote his letter of the 23rd of April, that "while Solway [the Duke of Bourbon] has hopes to do his business either by Rome or England, he will not in all appearance, hearken to any proposal from Peter's [the King's] quarter, but if he sees no other way left, it is not impossible, but rather than not make up matters, he may give into that."

* Hay, in writing to the Bishop of Rochester on the 16th of June, 1725, says, "the King of Spain has lately declared to the Pope, that he cannot forgive the affront lately done him, except France make him a reparation. I wish the reparation to be given may be suitable to the King's interest; and the Pope has by a despatch to the Nuncio at Madrid, ordered him to represent to the King of Spain, how honourable it would be for him, if the King's restoration was proposed as the only means to bring that union about." It was while in this angry mood, that Philip entered into measures with the head of the Germanic Empire which, with the negociations going on "betwixt Madrid and Muscovy," naturally gave James the strongest hopes of effective succour. The Pretender had recently sent an agent [Captain William Hay] to St. Petersburg to push his affairs at the court of Russia, and he was at this period anxiously looking for accounts from the North, that might determine the King of Spain to take some decided step in his favour. He apparently was of opinion, if he could prevail on Russia to declare itself at this particular juncture, that Spain would enter at once and heartily into the scheme; and that the result of the negociations which had been for some time carrying on

As to the two suppositions* made: the first is, in my poor opinion, quite out of doors; so that there can be no room for reasoning upon it, and so I have long thought. 'Tis true, matters went far in 1715, and people are much better affected, both in England and Scotland now; but it is at the same time true, that the army in the island is now near double to what it was then, and that the spirits of men are sunk by ill usage and frequent disappointments: and these circumstances overbalance much, the advantage of both being better affected; therefore that being the surest and best foundation for an attempt, is from abroad.† On this last head what you offer I agree to, unless where it depends on your not then knowing some facts which have since reached you; the knowledge of which gives room for pressing the point, that at the same time Norway is invaded, a part should be detached to invade England. This is the surest way for them and for us; as it will keep England from opposing their designs near home, and will make the blow most likely to succeed with us, by reason of the surprize of it: which as you observe, is the chief

concerning him between the two courts, would be his speedy restoration; for he had no doubt of success if backed by a body of foreign troops.

* Hay's letter to which this passage refers is lost, and it must, therefore, remain in a great degree, unexplained. There is reason however to believe, that the intended movement in the Highlands and the contemplated invasion of Norway by the Russians, is alluded to. See note, page 123.

† This passage is here given as decyphered by Edgar, but it is evidently not in Atterbury's usually clear and pointed manner. The difficulty appears to have been created by his selection of a wrong cypher, which Edgar has endeavoured to remedy by substituting the word *both*, and by altering one cypher from *though* to *therefore*, and another from *be* to *being*. Even with these efforts however, the passage did not appear satisfactory, and in the endeavour to make it so, Hay himself has thrust in the word *is* — making the sentence as above. The passage correctly decyphered (substituting what is considered to have been the Bishop's meaning by the cypher 328 s in place of *both*) will read thus, " and these circumstances overbalance much the advantage of *the Clans* being better affected, *though* that *be* the surest and best foundation for an attempt from abroad."

thing to be aimed at: and this though, must be laboured with Muscovy, and has for some time been represented by Daniel O'Brien to Prince Kurakin. A long Memorial* is drawn and ready to be put into Kurakin's hands, of which you will have a copy by next post, where the facility of success is represented at large, and a scheme proposed, but as from private hands well acquainted with that matter and without an immediate authority; so that should it differ in anything from what has been proposed elsewhere, that difference will be of no consequence.

As to what you say of obliging Norton [General Dillon] by Sussex [the Duke of Bourbon], I question whether it be right in itself or would succeed. I hope the last letter will, without further trouble, be complied with. If not, sure Finlay's [Mr. Murray's] seeing him by Mercer's [the King's] orders, and letting him know he is acquainted with the last message sent Norton (which Norton perhaps thinks nobody knows of) will procure immediate obedience.†

* This is the Memorial stated in Letter XXVIII. to be then preparing. It was in all probability, drawn up by Atterbury, and subsequently translated into French by O'Brien. The copy now in the collection is in the handwriting of the latter, and is entitled "Copie d'un Mémoire qui a esté delivré à Lumley le 28e Avril, 1725." It is endorsed by Hay, "Memoire sent by Colonel O'Brien: received May 22, 1725." O'Brien in a letter to Hay (April 30, 1725) observes, "j'ay remis depuis quelques jours à 447 [Le Prince Kurakin] un memoire concernant nos affaires. Il m'en a paru assez content, j'en ay aussy donné une copie au ministre du Duc d'Holstein pour lui estre envoyer en droiture."

† This unquestionably alludes to the dilatoriness of Dillon in delivering up certain official papers relating to James' affairs. This seeming unwillingness became at last so remarkable, that an application to the French Government was at one time contemplated. James states this plainly in a letter he wrote to the Duke of Ormonde (April 7, 1725), "Dillon," he says, "seems inseperable from the Duke of Mar, and tho' it is now nine months since I directed him, Dillon, to place certain blank commissions in a secure place, he hath not yet obeyed, and doth not seem to think of doing so. If a late strong letter I have writ to him hath no effect, I shall be forced to apply to

I have delivered the kind answer to S. N. G. [Sir Nicolas Geraldin?] who deserves it, but wish I had any for R ——, especially not seeing where the objection lies to what he proposes.

As to the proposal from St. Malo, Denicomb can (or will now) do nothing in it. I thought I had sufficiently explained myself on that head before.

As to what I said of gentle applications and compliances, it related purely to yourself, and the steps you might think it proper, on several occasions, to take towards softening the aversions of ill-natured and peevish people. But as to Mercer's compliances in the particulars you mention, they were far from my thoughts. I never dreamt of them.

I have had this day some pains and other interruptions which I could not avoid, and they have hindered me from answering yours as particularly as I should have done: and indeed from laying my thoughts before you in any regular method, which might be either to your, or my own satisfaction. You must bear with my infirmities, and excuse them on this and on many other occasions. The ample and important accounts of facts you will receive by this post from Finlay [Mr. Murray]* and Johnsonton [D. O'Brien] will make amends for my failures, and will suggest

the French Court for redress in so manifest a breach of trust." Atterbury's advice is repeated in the following letter, where the reader will find a note relating to it.

* Both Murray's and O'Bryen's letters bear the same date as this of Atterbury, and were likewise addressed to Hay. Murray's contained a long account of his interview with the Bishop of Fréjus, written for the purpose of being submitted to the Pretender, and is for the most part printed in the Appendix to Letter XXVII. That of O'Brien, like most of his communications at this time, relates almost exclusively to what was passing between himself and Prince Kurakin the Russian Envoy at Paris; the state of the negociations between the courts of France and Russia relative to the Duke of Holstein; and the high tone the envoy of the latter was ordered to take in case certain conditions, as regarded his master were not complied with, " puisqu'ils ne craignent plus rien au dedans de l'Empire et qu'ils sont en estat de se faire respecter au dehors."

abundant matter to your thoughts, worthy of a most serious reflection.

That this summer and the several favourable coincidences both at home and abroad, may not be lost, is the thing I aim at: and would be glad to contribute to put all things in motion to that purpose. Since my last, the public news tells us of a Bill brought into Parliament for disarming the Highlanders, which I hear is a scheme of the Duke of Argyle's. When you add this to what I have mentioned in my former letter, you will not need my explaining the reason why I take notice of it. I wish I could be of greater significance to the King than I am; but hope the time is coming, [when it] will be of little or no consequence.

I end with what I should have begun with, my thanks [to] you for your good news of the re-establishment of Mercer's [the King's] health. I wish yours to you, Sir, and all manner of happiness. You shall always find me your very faithful and obedient servant.

I wish a favourable notice may be taken of General Rothe's letter. He is as far as I can judge, a man of great integrity and consequence.

Endorsed [by Mr. Hay] "B. Rochester, Aprile 23d, 1725."

XXXI.

SIR, *April* 30, 1725.

As soon as I received your orders,* I sent a message to

* Conveyed to Atterbury in James' letter, dated April 11, 1725, and having reference to the long pending question of the papers in Dillon's possession, some account of which has been given in the note on page 125, and in the Appendix there referred to. James' patience was now beginning to be exhausted, and therefore, with the letter to the Bishop, he enclosed one for the Duke of Bourbon, in case Atterbury should find it necessary to claim the assistance of the French Government to oblige Dillon's compliance. In his letter to the Bishop, after expressing his regret that friends in England were not in a condition to act by themselves, notwithstanding the favourable dis-

Norton [General Dillon] by a friend of his, desiring to know when he would be at home, that I might wait upon

position of affairs abroad, of which it was necessary that he should put himself in "redyness to profitt," he proceeds, by observing, "in the mean time I think it of importance to come to the bottom of the affair of the papers in Dillon's hands, and therefore I here send you a letter for Mr. Inese to which I referr, and another for M. Le Duc for you to have delivered in case you find by Mr. Inese that Dillon hath taken no step towards delivering the papers. 'Tis true in my letter to Dillon of the 28th March, I tell him that 'I shall delay till I may have an answer to this, the taking such measures, &c.;' but he will have had it a fortnight when you receive this, and if in that time he hath taken no steps towards obedience, I am certainly at liberty to proceed as my service will require. To these letters I add an order for Mr. Inese and Mr. Murray to open these papers when they are delivered, and a letter to Mr. Dillon such as you propose." The letter to Mr. Inese is printed in the Appendix to Letter XXVI. page 120, to which, for this and other information on the subject the reader is referred: —that to Dillon will be found in the following note — and the joint order to Inese and Murray is as follows:

[Copy.] *Rome, Aprile 11th*, 1725.

"It is many months since I ordered Mr. Dillon to deposite certain papers, blank commissions, &c. in Mr. Lewis Inness's hands to be kept in the Scots College, with directions that they should not be removed from thence without my particular order: and it being necessary that I have a particular list sent me of the said papers when so placed, I therefore direct that Mr. James Murray and Mr. Lewis Inness do unseal and open the bundles or boxes in which they may be contained; and after taking a particular list of them, which they are to transmit to me, that they seal them up again with both their seals, and deposite them anew in the said Scots College, not to be opened nor removed from thence till my further order."

In consequence of these repeated orders to Dillon being disregarded, Murray in one of the letters he forwarded to Hay on the 30th of April, informs him, "I went to Mr. Inness with Piter's [the King's] order which the Bishop sent me. He has as yet received no such papers, which he thinks the most surprizing thing he ever mett with in his life. He is however of oppinion that it is not obstinacy in the man, but indolence and oddness:" and in a subsequent letter (May 8th), the papers not having been deposited, he further observes, "This is the oddest thing that ever was, and so much so, that for my part I am really affraid that an honest man who is capable of it, must have some wrong turn in his head, for I cannot account for it otherways in any shape." It may here be observed that Lord Mar gave up some of those in his possession with reluctance, thinking, as he himself says, that

him: resolving rather to be carried up two pair of stairs in the hands of servants than miss seeing him myself, if it were possible to get at him. He sent me a civil answer, declined my visit, and said he would come to me. I have waited now two days, but he is not come. If I see him not, so as to be able to give you an account of our conference before the post goes away, I will send him your letter;* but without accompanying it by any thing from myself, because he gave me no manner of answer to the last letter I wrote to him.

As to the letter for 841 [the Duke of Bourbon]† I beg

upon the event of a Restoration, they might be necessary for his defence if impeached of High Treason for the share he had in the celebrated Memorial presented to the Duke of Orleans.

* This was one of the letters enclosed in that from James to Atterbury, dated April 11, 1725, as mentioned in the preceding note. It is here given.

[Copy.] *Rome, Aprile 11th*, 1725.

"The Bishop of Rochester informed me sometime ago, that you had delivered up to him three Acquittances, signed by Baron Gortz, for £175,000 [livres]. It is necessary that you likeways deliver to the Bishop, the present King of Sweden's letter where he acknowledges the debt, as well as all other letters and papers which you have relating to to that affair; and that you give also to the Bishop a declaration by which it may appear that that money belonged to me, and that you payd it for my behoof. All which is necessary for the procuring payment of the said money."

† A copy of this letter has not been found. Its import however cannot be doubted from the language James uses in respect to it when writing to the Bishop, and as given in the preceding note but one. Murray in this instance at least, was clearly of the same opinion as Atterbury, for he observes in his letter to Hay of April 30, after mentioning his interview with Mr. Inese on the subject of Dillon and these papers, "I cannot be of oppinion that Piter [the King] should apply to Solway [the Duke of Bourbon] on this head, for I dont know in what way Solway could serve him effectually, and it would make a strange éclat. I believe it is hardly to be supposed that Dutton [Dillon] would make a bad use of any blank papers in his hands, and to publish such a declaration as you suppose would I'm affraid produce an ill effect in so far as it might give [cause] to suspect that there might be some prospect of action. In fine all that Mr. Knight [the King] can do is to weigh the inconveniencys of all sides and avoid the greatest." The letter seems

you, Sir, to consider how far that step may be proper, on several accounts, relating to yourself and your present situation: in which, methinks, I would not have it seen that you want any help (and particularly that help) towards gaining such a point. I am afraid that kind of application will hurt your affairs, one way, more than it can help them, another, should it succeed. I forbear to explain myself further on this article; but am in hopes to reach the end without using such extraordinary means, and will leave nothing unattempted for that purpose.

The other letters* and orders are all communicated; and I find Lord Tullibardine in his letter to me, pleased with the concern you had expressed for him.

As to a person to be sent to the Duke of Ormonde,†

not to have been delivered, for in another which Murray sent to Hay, dated May 14th, he says, "I find the Bishop has judged it was not proper to deliver Mercer's [the King] letter in relation to Dutton [Dillon] for which I dont at all blaim him; but I wish at the same time that he had not spoken of it to Dutton, for by this means Mercer has all the inconvenience of it by provoking of Dutton as if it had been actually delivered. But if the papers are given up, that is Mercer's view, and I shall long to see it answered."

* Namely to Mr. Lewis Inese separately, and to him and Mr. Murray jointly — both concerning Dillon and the papers in his custody. The passage relating to Lord Tullibardine is probably some allusion to a letter Atterbury had received from his Lordship, having reference to the one addressed to him by the Chevalier, when transmitting some money to Paris for his use, as mentioned in the Appendix, page 66.

† This refers to a particular passage in James' letter of the 11th of April, which will be found in the extract in the note on page 144.

James Keith was the second son of William, ninth Earl Marischal, and, with his elder brother George, unswervingly adhered to the exiled family. He certainly accepted this mission, and left Paris about the time mentioned by Atterbury, as the Bishop, in a letter he wrote to James on the 25th of June, quotes the following passage from one he had received from the Duke of Ormonde, which evidently relates to Keith. "Yesterday I received yours of the 9th* by our friend, in whom I shall have all the confidence that you

* Atterbury's letter, in which this quotation appears, was written on the 25th of June; and it seems quite impossible, considering the ordinary

nothing can be more for the service, if I can light of one every ways proper. I have my eye upon James Keith for this purpose, who is going soon to Spain upon a letter from his brother, if I encourage him so to do, and is a man of sense and honour, and particularly attached to the Duke of Ormonde: and, I dare say would not, when in

desire, and that he deserves. You could not have pitchd on any person more agreeable to me: for I am very well acquainted with his merit." He appears to have reached his destination on or about the 2nd of June, as on this latter day, he addressed a complimentary letter from Madrid to Lord Inverness, who on the very same day forwarded one to his brother, the Earl Marischal, in which he says "I reckon Mr. Keith will be with [you] or at Madrid about this time. The Bishop of Rochester talked freely to him before he left Paris, and he will inform you fully of matters not fitt to be put in writing. I pray as the Presbyterian minister did, for confusion; and as one Farquhar of your country did, when I presented him to the King: he prayed that God would send a generall famine over the face of the earth, and that it should last till every one had his own. I wish'd for large Cantins on that occasion." On the 30th of the same month, Hay forwarded a letter to James Keith himself, acknowledging the receipt of the one abovementioned, which clearly establishes the fact of his being the bearer of Atterbury's message to the Duke of Ormonde. Hay therein says, "It was a great satisfaction to me to know by yours of 2nd June, that you was safely arrived at Madrid, where the informations you carried from the Bishop of Rochester to the Duke of Ormonde relating to the present situation of the King's affairs, could not but make you very welcome to his Grace. The King is very much perswaded that you'll never let slip any opportunity where you think you can be useful to his service; and it will be the greatest pleasure to me to hear from you when any thing occurs that can be anyways useful to it or to your own particular advantage."

A few extracts from Keith's correspondence, tending to elucidate some of the early passages in the life of this, afterwards, celebrated man, are given in the APPENDIX.

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methods of travelling then in use, that Keith could have gone from Paris to Madrid, and given time for Atterbury to have received an answer from the Duke, between the 9th of June and that period. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the Duke's letter was written in May, and that it acknowledged the receipt of one written by the Bishop on the ninth of that month; which it must be observed, will make Keith's departure from Paris, to correspond with what is said on that point, towards the close of this letter.

Spain, want the diligence and attention necessary upon so urgent an occasion.

There is another person, whom, by the turn of a letter of his which I have casually seen, I judge to be a man fitted for any business of consequence in which your service may be concerned. I mean the Chevalier now with you, whose father has told me, he will be here in two months; and whose journey may even be quickened, if it shall be thought requisite, and you, Sir, upon better knowledge, shall pass the same judgment on him that I have done. His post is in Britanny, where his regiment is. I have already asked his father whether I might hope that his son would go to England upon any matter of consequence, when it should happen. The good man with pleasure received the proposal, and undertook for his readiness, fidelity, &c. most earnestly. If he be found what, I persuade myself he is, I should be glad he were here as soon as his affairs will suffer him, and were directed to me and recommended to my confidence. After discoursing him, and entering a little into his character and talents, 713 [Atterbury himself] hopes to find out proper work for him: especially since he has hopes of hearing soon from England, and must in a little time send thither.*

* The whole tenor of this passage leads to the conviction that the person here meant is the Chevalier Geraldin, a Chevalier de Malthe and son of the Sir Nicolas Geraldin who has been already mentioned in these notes. There is, in the collection, a letter addressed to Sir Nicolas from James himself, dated April 6, 1725, stating that "his son, the Chevalier, was then at Rome, which place however, he appears to have left on or about the 16th of June following, if a judgment may be formed from an endorsement on a paper in Hay's own hand-writing to the following effect. "Memorandum left by Chevalier Geraldin, June 16, 1725:" and in a letter which Hay wrote to the Bishop on the same day is the following passage, "I reckon Chevalier Geraldin, who will deliver this packet to you either himself, or by his father, will arrive several days before Mr. Cameron. He is a clever young gentleman, and will be ready to execute any commission you may give him in the way of his own trade," and then adds, "Mr Cameron will so order it with

I have not touched the five thousand livres yet; nor shall I but for an end worthy of expence. However, since unforeseen occasions may arise, and every moment at this critical juncture is fruitful of new events, I could wish the credit were larger to answer possible (and perhaps probable) emergencies. There will be no harm in being thus prepared for them, though no use should be made of that credit; as none shall be, unless the occasion absolutely requires it.*

the Chevalier that he'll see nobody at Paris, till you send him your directions, which he'll follow nicely, and see only those you direct."

The Chevalier was certainly at Paris about the time indicated by Atterbury, as Hay acknowledges on the 18th of July, the receipt of one from him, dated at Paris on the 2nd of that month — on the 30th of which the Chevalier again wrote to him, saying, "je souhaitte avec la dernière impatiance de trouver les ocacions de prouver mon zèle et me rendre digne des bontés de sa Majesté." The manner too in which Atterbury states the father to have received his proposition, tallies singularly with the expressions of zeal and devotion observable in his letters to James. This the reader may have seen in the short extract given in the note on page 146; and the following may be added (taken from the same letter) to prove, if he were sincere in his professions, that Atterbury had not made an improper estimate of his zeal or willingness. "I have receaved the letter your Maiestie has honnord mee of the 6 of this month. I most humbley thanck her for her favours and bonties to myselfe and sonn who is penetrated with zeale and acknowleadgement, and has given mee an a Compt of your Maiesties favours, for whom wee will never sease to offer our vœus to y^e^ omnipotent God, and imbrace all occasions of sacrificing our lives for her service."

* It would appear from a letter of Hay to the Bishop, dated Feb. 20, 1725, and in which reference is made to that which Atterbury had forwarded to the Chevalier on the 29th of January, that he must also have written at the same time to Hay himself, wherein he had probably mentioned something about settling a correspondence with England; for in the letter above alluded to, Hay observes, "As to the affair you mention of a correspondent in England, the King must leave it entirely to you to judge of the probability there may be of any advantage from it, since that depends upon the character of the proposer whom you don't name: But His Majesty desires me to assure you that he'll very willingly defray the charges of such a correspondence, providing it answers expectation; and approves very much of the caution you use in the answer you made to it, and the directions you gave upon it. The King is far from expecting that you should lay out any of

I am sorry to say, that nothing can be more certain than the judgment you pass,* Sir, on the disposition of

your own money upon such like things, and has ordered me by this post to direct Mr. Waters to pay to you as far as 5000 livres when you call for it; and upon your acquainting the King from time to time, of the money that you employ for his service in this or in any other way, Mr. Waters shall have such sums remitted to him, with orders still to continue the credit of 5000 livres: and the King I can assure you is under no manner of apprehension of your misemploying any of his money, neither does he judge of you from the experience he has had of others." The order for placing this money at Atterbury's disposal is also mentioned in a letter from James himself of the same date with this of Hay: he observes, "I direct by this post, Mr. Waters to furnish you with 5000 livres as you shall call for it; and I am not under the least uneasyness of your anyways misapplying what money you may call for: and this I only design for defraying the expences of expresses, &c., and such like things as may immediately concern my service."

It is probable that Atterbury's hint concerning a more extended credit, coming just at the period when the hopes of James and his party were raised at the expected outbreak in Scotland, should the government proceed to enforce the disarming of the Highlanders — on which event there is clear evidence to prove that the Chevalier intended to make another attempt to recover the crown — was the cause that, before the expiration of the next two months, funds to the amount of 180,000 livres were placed at his disposal, which he was "to employ, if necessary, towards buying up of ammunition, bisquet, brandy, &c. and transporting of the same, with the officers, gentlemen, and arms proper to be sent for this purpose."

With this money was also forwarded letters for many of the chiefs of the clans — a blank commission for a commander-in-chief in Scotland — and four colonel's brevets; all of which were left to Atterbury to fill up. In addition to these, James at the same time transmitted an instrument under his own hand, to Atterbury, in which he declares, for reasons therein stated, "I do hereby impower and authorise you to give such orders and directions to all my subjects now residing in France, relating to the present situation of my affairs, and especially to the intended expedition into Scotland, as you shall think necessary and most conducive to the good of my service; having always due regard to such orders as our present distance may allow us to give: and I hereby declare that all such orders and directions given by you to any of my foresaid subjects, shall be as good and valid as given directly by myself." This extraordinary power (given entire in the APPENDIX to this letter), was to be in force for six months from the 15th of June — the day of its date.

* In his letter to the Bishop, dated April 11, 1725. The part to which this passage alludes, is extracted and given in the note on page 144.

friends in England. They will not stir first, nor till they see a sufficient support from abroad, and unless the present opportunity be seized, they will grow more and more backward, and even lessen in their numbers: especially if the scheme of the match* with France should take place quietly, without any attempt made, at the beginning, to hinder the ill consequences of it. Give me leave still, Sir,

* Between the young King of France, Louis XV. and one of the granddaughters of King George I. Notwithstanding Cardinal Polignac's declaration, referred to by Atterbury a little further on, and which is quoted in the note on p. 145, there was evidently a feeling in France that the negociation with England was not, at this time, broken off. Almost one of Dillon's last letters to the Chevalier is on the subject of setting aside the Infanta and providing a suitable match for the young king. After stating that he had been informed by good hands of the measures taken to marry the King to Mademoiselle de Vermandois, M. Le Duc's sister, he adds, "Many thinking men, and much *au fait*, do believe there is a match in treaty, if not concluded, with the Prince of Hannover's second daughter. I hope in God this report will prove groundless, tho' it gains more credit both at court and in Paris than the former. A little time will clear all those doubts, and I shall take due care to have early information." Murray also, in his letter of the 8th of May, notices the same rumour, but only to combat it, and in another, dated the 14th, he gives the reason of the delay that had occurred in proclaiming who "was to be the happy lady." He tells Hay "I have so often written to you that K. Stanislaus's daughter was to be Queen, that it seems needless to repeat it again. The Court does not at present disown it at bottom, tho' in decency it will not be declared till the Infanta is out of the French dominions." The pertinacity with which Atterbury stuck to the opinion of the Match with England, seems to confirm Ferguson's assertion of his excessive credulity in believing stories without the least foundation, and repeating them as well-grounded truths: and corresponds with an observation contained in Murray's letter to Hay of June 4th, where, after mentioning Atterbury's proneness to "form refinements," he proceeds by observing "For instance, after it was plain that there was no question of a marriage for the King of F[rance] with a Princess of H[anover], even after you had writ what had passed at Rome on that subject, and after I had told him what Dagget [the Bishop of Fréjus] had said to me, he was still positive that that marriage was concluded, and (which was yet stranger) that the Emperor had contrived it; and his common topick was to rail at Dagget's unsincerity for endeavouring to impose on the King by saying otherways; with which I own he has often exercised my patience."

to have that point in my eye, which has never been out of it these four months, notwithstanding the opinion that has universally prevailed to the contrary. Even Cardinal Polignac's declaration does not clear the matter, when we reflect, what a part Tessé* was led to act in Spain to the very last, and in the sincerity of his heart. Nothing was more of use to cover the secret, than the ignorance in which he was kept, and the orders they gave him. And therefore, Sir, still I repeat what I have often said, that you would please to compare the good words given you, with the designs then actually *sur tapis*, and which one cannot be perfectly sure, are even yet laid aside. The new free gift of a million to the Duke of Hannover, and the late assurance given from the other side of the two Ladies attending their Grand-father abroad, look the other way: and particularly, should the latter intelligence hold good, it is a proof that the first scheme still stands, whatever professions may be made to the contrary.

The news now generally believed is, that the Infanta will be given to the Prince of Brazil. It is very strange that he should venture so soon upon another early engagement, after receiving such a defeat in the first: and therefore I shall suspend my belief in that matter for the present. But if it be so, nothing probably could have induced him to it but a determined resolution of breaking with France; in which case that Alliance with Portugal (now in bad terms with France) will be of the utmost use to him.

The opinion of Cardinal Gualterio is certainly wrong in one respect — that there is an understanding in all this bustle between the two Courts (for never was there a resentment more real and hearty), though it may possibly

* At the time he was sent thither on a particular mission from the French government, and when strenuous endeavours were making by James to obtain permission for the Duke of Ormonde to leave Spain and reside in France. See Letter XVII. p. 79, and the Appendix, p. 22.

prove right, in another, that they may soon be made friends: for no means are neglected by France in order to that end. The two Confessors* and the whole interest of the Jesuits (as well as that of the Pope and the Duke of Hannover) are endeavoured to be employed in it. The success of these measures seems to depend on the turn Guthry [the Emperor] has taken, or shall take on this occasion.

In the meantime, Sir, nothing should be, as you advise (nor shall be on my part) neglected, against you shall hear from the North, or find a conjuncture rise in your favour.

The Paper you was to receive from Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] was too long to be put into Cypher, and transmitted by this post; so he defers it to another. Tis already lodged in the hands of Methuen [Prince Kurakin.].†

Sir, I hope, some kind notice will be taken of General Rothe, whose merit, integrity and firmness deserve it; and that I may have the pleasure of conveying some mark of your goodness to him. It will not, I trust in God, be long, before you have an occasion of trying his fidelity, and other talents.‡

* One of these Confessors wrote on this matter to Father Sabran, an English Jesuit at Rome, supposed to be in James' confidence. The whole passage will receive some elucidation by referring to the note on p. 159.

† The Paper here mentioned is the Memorial delivered by O'Brien to Prince Kurakin on the 28th of April. It was forwarded on the 7th, and received at Rome on the 22nd of May. See note, p. 161.

‡ In the same communication (June 16, 1725) that informed Atterbury of the large additional sum placed at his disposal, and contained a blank commission for a Commander-in-chief in Scotland, were forwarded also the names of three individuals, General Rothe, General Hamilton and Lord North, for the Bishop's consideration and selection for that post. Of the first there was then some doubt whether he would undertake the office, and James' predeliction was certainly in favour of the last. As regards General Hamilton there seems to have been no doubt about his acceptance of the commission, if desired; but there were great misgivings whether such a

Since the writing this, I have seen James Keith, and he is determined to be gone in a week. I shall give him ample instructions before he goes, to be communicated only to the Duke of Ormonde and Lord Marischal, whose entire secrecy may be depended on. I will endeavour also to fix a surer way of correspondence with him than by the common Post. And, I suppose, Sir, he and his brother, will be allowed on this occasion to make use of the Duke of Ormonde's Cypher, and that you will impart your pleasure to the Duke of Ormonde on this Article.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester to the King, Aprile 30th, 1725."

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nomination would be agreeable to the Highlanders. Hay mentions his unpopularity in a letter he wrote to Murray on the 16th of June, 1725: "The King," he observes, "leaves it to the Bishop of Rochester to name the Commander-in-chief. If the appearance bear only the acting a defensive part against the government, I am persuaded that few that are fitt for it will care to accept of it. And here I must, tho' much against my inclination, inform you that General Hamilton, tho' I am perswaded very capable for such a charge, in the year 1715, by whose means I cannot tell, incurred the universal hatred of most of the Highlanders, and to such a degree, that it was thought necessary to send him with a message into France, which, certainly otherways, one of his character would not have been charged with. How far this may be worn off I cannot pretend to judge, but it is fitt and necessary for the good of the service that the Bishop be informed of this." Another letter from Hay to Atterbury, also dated June 16, 1725, enclosed letters to the abovenamed three individuals. "You have here," he states, "three letters for Lord North, Generall Hamilton and Generall Ruth; and the King leaves it to your prudence to make what use of them you think fitt. You will see that that for the last is write in the supposition of his going as Generall, since he cannot go in any other form." It is just possible that the letter to General Rothe may have been written in consequence of Atterbury's favourable representations of the General's zeal and talents.

XXXII.

[Atterbury despatched three letters to Rome on the 30th of April; one only of which (No. XXXI.) seems to have been intended for the Chevalier, while this and the following are considered to have been addressed to Mr. Hay. There is not, it is true, any but the evidence that may be gleaned from the letters themselves for arriving at this conclusion, but that appears so satisfactory, as to warrant the placing of Hay's name at the head of them. A trifling, but it is thought a very convincing circumstance in favour of this view, is the manner in which the following letter is indorsed by Edgar, it having simply "Bishop of Rotchester" instead of "Bishop of Rotchester to the King," which was his usual practice with letters addressed to James himself. The third letter of this date (No. XXXIII.) appears not to have been entrusted to Edgar, as the endorsement is in Hay's own hand-writing. It is doubtless the one to which Murray alludes in the postscript to that he wrote to Hay on the 4th of June, (a large extract from which is given in the Appendix of No. XXXIII.) where he observes, "If the Bishop would have said from the beginning what it seems he has written to you, he might have saved you all this trouble."]

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *April* 30, 1725.

I shall tell Rotier* what you write, as Mercer's [the King's] pleasure; though I foresee he will be mortified; having told me, he had no other way of getting loose for a time from his business here. He has graved a fine medal of the Prince of Wales, with which I am pleased.

I have heard from Lord Marischal on the subject of Dunicomb. He now gives that matter up, having received proper lights on the head from his brother.†

* Roettier's request was transmitted to Rome by Atterbury in his letter of the 16th of April, 1725. The reader will find it mentioned also in the note on page 155.

† This subject is alluded to in one of Atterbury's prior letters (No. XXX). It relates to some proffered naval assistance, and was communicated through the medium of Earl Marischal, though from the loss of much of Hay's correspondence of this period, all the particulars concerning it cannot now be clearly made out. On the 14th of October, 1724, Hay wrote to Lord Marischal, requesting further information relative to the proposal, it being,

All mouths are full of a match carrying on betwixt the Prince of Asturias and one of the Archduchesses, as you

from the hopes that were at this time entertained by James and his party, one of peculiar interest. On the 21st of November, he acquaints Atterbury that he had done so, and was anxiously expecting his Lordship's answer, which, when received, he wrote (December 19, 1724) to the Bishop as follows: "I write to Lord Marischall by the King's order, the 14th October last, to desire that he would inform the King of the particulars of the proposal made to him, and which he communicated to you, of an offer of ten ships to be at His Majesty's disposal when he should call for them. Lord Marischal in his answer, referrs to you for the particulars of that affair which I find he had not time to enquire narrowly into before he left Paris. What I desired to know of My Lord Marischal was, whether the person who made the proposal, has a view of executing the whole upon his own bottom, or if he depends upon others joining with him, and who those are; for he may be disappointed in them, as well as we may be in him, so that the more it appears that he is in a condition of performing what he proposes, the better. The person's character I hopt likeways he was satisfied with. It would be also necessary to know upon what terms he proposes to furnish these ships; how much warning he must have for the getting them ready, and under what pretence he proposes to fit them out. A great many other things are to be enquired into, which I need not mention; and as it is an affair that may prove of very great consequence, the King thinks it ought not to be neglected, and would have you appoint some understanding person in trading and sea affairs, to enquire narrowly into it. No man understands these matters better than Robin Arbuthnot, whose fidelity is entirely to be depended upon. Sir Nicholas Geraldin, who is now at Paris, is one of the honnestest men alive, and will be able to inform you of the person's character. He is of the town of St. Malo, and the father of the gentleman who makes the proposal, is a considerable substantial man of that place. Sir Nicholas was concerned very much in the shipping employed for the King's service in the year 1715, and suffered a good deal by it; and tho' he has often given me assurances of his whole effects being at the King's service whenever he should have occasion for them, yet I am affrayd his circumstances would not allow him to do much. However when I was in France last, he assured me that he had two frigates at the King's service upon a reasonable warning. Send for him, and you'll find him to be what I say — a true zealous man." The passage in Hay's letter to Atterbury, dated Feb. 20, 1725, relating to this proposal, is given in the note on page 146.

There is some little discrepancy in the cyphers used by Atterbury to designate the principal agent in this proposal — whoever he might be. In both letters he employs the syllabic portion of the cypher in use with him at this

intimate. And should that prove true, England as well as France may feel the consequences of it.

I have written to Mercer [the King] about the letter to Norton [General Dillon] &c., and what I have done, and intend to do in it; and have hopes he will think me in the right on that article.

As to consulting those of England or Ireland about a plan for an Attempt in either of those kingdoms, I conceive it is yet too soon. No step of that kind can be taken, without infusing an opinion that something is doing; and that will by little and little, creep abroad and give an alarm. And as to Ireland (when it shall be proper) I see not, who there is here to be consulted, or of what service I can be in it.

In the meantime, I think, Mercer's [the King's] hopes and views cannot be too soon imparted to Jameison [Duke of Ormonde]; and I have waited hitherto for his directions on this head. Now I have received them,* the opportunity of executing them by the Spanish post, is no longer safe; nor can it be done till a person goes, who may be entirely confided in.

Your Abstract of the Projects† proposed to be formerly

particular period. In the first (No. XXX. p. 163) the figures used are 107. 358. 95. 34. while in this, the first cypher is changed to 109 — thus leaving it in doubt whether the person's name were Denicomb or Donicomb. In the first letter Edgar has decyphered the passage correctly according to the key: in the present he has made it Dunicomb.

* Many of the passages in this letter will receive elucidation from that which precedes it, and the notes thereto appended. The present refers to that particular part of James' letter to Atterbury of the 11th of April, in which he asks whether he "could not think of some clever and trusty person to send to the Duke of Ormonde" — the result of which suggestion, was the sending of James Keith on the mission to Spain.

† This may have reference to the abstract of "The Memorial" given by Lord Mar to the Duke of Orleans; as well as to "The wretched Scheme," an account of which Hay forwarded to the Bishop. The first is printed on page 88, the other on page 97 of the APPENDIX.

executed, will be of great use; and so will Norton's [Gen. Dillon's] Papers, I suppose, when we can get them: and I do not yet despair of getting them from him, without coming to extremes.

The four letters enclosed were delivered soon after they came to my hands.* These are all the particulars of your last letter of April 11, which required any thing to be said to them. The most of what I have further to say is contained in the letter to Mercer [the King.]

Filmore [Lord Mar] and his family go this week into the country with Madame Mézières and hers, who has hired an house seven leagues off, near Fontainbleau; and he is to take another in the neighbourhood. He is putting off his house here in town, for which he pays 4000 livres per ann. and has hired (by her means) another here for the winter at 1300 livres. So you see, he intends not to quit the spot, but for the summer only.

The Earl of Abington is said to have left his friends; goes to court, and is to have somewhat done for him. The Earl of Anglesey and he, have probably agreed that point between them.

Sir Thomas Hanmer's directly listing himself is no surprize to me. Lord Trevor, I suppose, will soon have his old place. I wish it stop there, and that more instances

* The letter of Hay here referred to, dated April 11, 1725, is missing, and it cannot therefore be positively shown to whom the four letters above-mentioned were addressed. In all probability however, they were those relating to the delivery of the Papers in Dillon's possession, (see note, p. 165) and were respectively addressed to Mr. Lewis Inese, Mr. Murray, and Dillon himself, and all bearing the same date as Hay's communication. To these may be added one to Mr. Inese, written two days earlier, and being a reply from James to a complimentary letter he had received from Inese on the birth of his second son Henry. The letter which James addressed to the Duke of Bourbon on this subject, and which was also at this time transmitted to Atterbury, could not have been here included, because we know that both the Bishop and Murray were averse to its being delivered; and that in fact it never did reach its intended destination.

do not follow. I am glad Mr. Dicconson is in possession of the Actions, though I find the honest man horribly disturbed about the Numeros.*

When you return Lord North's letter, let me, if you think fit, have a copy of his cypher, that I may correspond with him in his own way. He is returned from Holland to Brussels, — intends to spend the summer at Aix-la-Chapelle, — and the winter at Brussels; if he has not work otherwise cut out for him.†

I find the Marq. de Prie, who used me so scurvily, is himself used worse by all ranks of people there, than I was by those, upon whom he had influence. The new governor

* The loss of a portion of Hay's correspondence will prevent a full explanation of this passage. It is, however, the less to be regretted in this instance, as there is every reason to believe that it relates solely to some private money transaction entered into by James for the benefit or convenience of Madame de Mézières (born Oglethorpe) and her daughter, who was then (1722) about to be married to Charles de Rohan, Prince de Montauban; and has no connection with another money negociation then on foot between James and the French Government, relating to a portion of his wife's jointure. The principal light that can now be thrown upon the subject, is derived from Murray's correspondence and one of Hay's remaining letters; extracts from which are given in the APPENDIX.

† By the anticipated rising in the Highlands and his probable employment as commander-in-chief of any forces that might be so collected in James' favour. How inclined Lord North himself was to enter into any scheme of this kind, may be seen by the following extract from a letter he sent on the 18th of July, 1725, addressed to Lord Inverness under the cant name of Parker. "I have not done myself the honour to write to you since I left Mr. Mader [Brussels], but Mr. Thomson [the King] I have writ to from another place, which I have now quitted. I am with Mr. Drake [i. e. in Holland], and shall so remain till there is any thing for Mr. Holmes [the King's service]. If that be I should be glad to know it early, and tho' Mr. Thomson [the King] has promis'd me his commands from his own hands, I shall depend upon you to put him in mind of it." On the 1st of September James himself wrote to his Lordship and informed him, "I see no appearance of any thing being done in my favour this year, but I hope the winter may produce some favourable resolutions for the spring; in all events you shall have due information of what is requisite."

receives all Englishmen with open arms, and without enquiring, on which side they are: whereas in de Prie's time, a mark was set on every body that was in the King's interest, and particularly on me; and all the persons of rank were expressly told, that if they saw me, they must not come to court. I mention this, as foreseeing that, if the match with England should after all, take place, I should probably be made uneasy here, and forced to withdraw. If that prove the case, and Daun's government continues upon the same foot (especially if the Emperor and the King of Spain should join), I may probably return to Brussels; and begin to think that I shall recover health enough to bear that moist air, better than I did upon my first coming out of England. But I hope things may take a more advantageous turn; and therefore have taken a lease of the house in which I live, for three years more: but upon condition, that I stay so long in Paris.

The extraordinary gift of a million, as it occasioned high debates, so it works the same way with the Act for disarming the Highlanders. I am always, Sir,

Your most obedient and
faithful Servant.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester"

XXXIII.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *April* 30, 1725.

This letter is intended only for your view; and is indeed upon a very nice subject, on which I should not address myself to you, were I not under the strongest convictions of my not being blameable.

Finlay [Mr. Murray] takes ill of me some words which I spake to him alone, upon a point, wherein we differed;

and has carried matters to such an height, as to put himself upon a foot of not coming to me, though he knows I cannot come to him. This distance, and the consequences of it, will be mischievous to Mercer's [the King's] affairs, in the highest degree. I protest to you in the sincerity of my heart, that I intended not the least offence to him, in what I said; and, if I understand the meaning of words, he had not the least reason to be offended. However, he, it seems, thinks otherwise, and insists upon my owning myself in the wrong — which I never will do, because I never can do it honestly and sincerely. I am at a loss to comprehend his meaning: but surely there is somewhat at the bottom of this, more than appears. Were there not, there are one hundred reasons to hinder him from carrying things to such extremities. He has sent me word, he will write to Mercer [the King] this post, and desire his dismission. I hope he will not be so unwise as to keep his word. Whatever step he takes, 'tis an office worthy of you to temper the matter, and bring him to reason, on his (if not on mine), and on a public account. For such a breach will not only hurt Mercer's affairs, but render them ridiculous. I forbear to trouble you with particulars; and hope, he will not. But believe me in general, when I say, that I am so little conscious of a fault, that I would, had I a proper occasion, say the same thing to Mercer himself — bating only the concern and earnestness with which I expressed myself.

Upon the whole, Sir, if this matter be laid before you, do as your prudence shall direct: if it be not, and the thing heals of itself, burn this letter, and suppose nothing said.*

I am, Sir,

Your ever faithful and obedient servant.

Endorsed by [Hay himself] " B. Rochester, Aprile 30th, 1725."

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* Atterbury's extreme infirmity of temper cannot be disputed; — it scared Dillon — disgusted Murray — obliged Mr. Ferguson to leave him — and

worried O'Brien almost beyond endurance, besides causing a shyness on the part of many others who, but for that circumstance, would have acted cordially with him. Much of this irritability may have been natural to him, but much also may, unquestionably, be attributed to his deplorable state of health and the excruciating torments he at times endured.

His delicacy and caution in not writing to James himself on this most unpleasant affair, was not followed by Murray, who, on the day that Atterbury addressed his letter to Mr. Hay, wrote one direct to James himself, containing nothing but his own version of the quarrel; and the subject, it may be observed, enters also into several of his subsequent letters.

It is greatly to be regretted that the correspondence both of the Chevalier and his Secretary at this particular period is extremely defective; and the reader is, by consequence, deprived of much information relative to the attempts that were made to bring about a reconciliation. We can only be sure, from certain passages still existing, that they were made, and that they were to a certain extent successful. Murray, soon after this affair, left Paris for Rome, having been appointed governor to James' eldest son; and his vacant post was filled by Colonel Daniel O'Brien, who also, as appears from numerous passages in his letters, soon found out and complained of the Bishop's jealous and hasty temper. Sir John Græme (who had then succeeded Lord Inverness as secretary of state to the Chevalier), thus consoles him on two several occasions when O'Brien's complaints could not be passed over unheeded. The first occurs in a letter Sir John addressed to him on the 22nd of August, 1727, and in which he assures him that "Mr. Leuiston [the King] is very sensible of your zeal for his service on every occasion, and nothing is to him a greater proof of it, than your suffering for his sake, things that otherways you could not bear from 508 [the Bishop of Rochester] but as Sweetman's [the King's] present circumstances require your acting in concert with him for some time, your merit will still be the more regarded by all 471 s [the King's] true friends." In the next, dated September 5, 1727, he says, "I am heartily sorry that Gallifer's [the Bishop of Rochester's] temper makes it allways more uneasy to you to have any dealings with him; but it is not to be avoided at present, and you can only have recourse to your address in preventing as much as possible his falling into passion, and in staving off such questions as you are not at liberty to answer, in the best manner you can, so as not to give him jealousy; which I forsee will be very hard for you to manage."

As far as Murray and his quarrel is concerned, an Englishman and a Protestant may perhaps feel inclined to frame some excuse for the irascibility shewed by the Bishop in this instance, or even pardon him for the downright anti-papal feeling he exhibited; and which, notwithstanding every other failing, he never for a moment lost.

Whatever information can be gathered from the Correspondence relating to this affair, the Reader will find given in the APPENDIX.

XXXIV.

[There is considerable indistinctness in the date of the indorsement of this letter: so that a doubt may be entertained whether O'Brien intended it for May 1, 1725 or 1727. In the latter year Atterbury certainly drew up a Paper for Cardinal Fleury's perusal, which it is just possible, he might have permitted O'Brien to translate into French, although the letter he wrote to James concerning it, on the 19th of May, 1727, leaves the point in doubt. Even however, if that were the case, it is quite clear from the same letter, that it was not given to the Cardinal by O'Brien but "by a person of rank whom he [the Cardinal] esteems and loves;" while in the following letter he speaks positively of a Memorial actually delivered by O'Brien himself. This circumstance seems decisive in favour of the first mentioned date and it can therefore apply only to the Memorial which he had drawn up, and which O'Brien put into Prince Kurakin's hands on the 28th of April 1725, after having first translated it into Freneh from Atterbury's "fowl papers."]

To Colonel Daniel O'Brien.

Sir, *Tuesday Night,* [*May* 1, 1725.]

If you go out of town tomorrow, I should be glad you would leave the Memorial behind you, so drawn, as you delivered it, that I may translate or copy it, if I have time, during your absence. Be pleased also to send me the fowl Papers, which have my scrawl upon them. I am in cash now and ready to answer my debts. The coachman has been with me to day, and owns he has not yet given his master notice; so that when he will be able to come hither, I know not. The Horses are expensive at a livery stable, and must be there till he comes, where perhaps they are not well looked after, and before they can come hither, he must have laid in hay, oats, and straw and bought utensils for the stable.

A word from you may quicken him. I refer myself to you for fixing his wages.

Yours alwayes

F. R.

Endorsed by O'Brien "L[ettre] de levesque du 1r May, 1725."

XXXV.

[The following short letter has neither date nor indorsement, but is addressed "To Colonel O'Bryen" by Atterbury himself. The presumption is that it has reference to the same subject as the preceeding letter, namely the Memorial delivered to Prince Kurakin on the 28th of April, which we find by a passage in one of the Bishop's Communications (No XXXI) could not then be forwarded on account of its being out of Cypher.]

To Colonel Daniel O'Brien.

Sir, *Saturday Morning,* [*May,* 5, 1725.]

I have read what you are pleased to let me see: but find it is out of cypher and mentions names at length: for which reason I think it no ways proper to be ventured in that dress: and I have therefore sent away my letter by the post, without it, and told the King my reason for not sending the Papers themselves till next post, by which time they may be put into cypher. I hope you will judge this right, and am,

Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant

F. R.

XXXVI.

Sir, *May* 7, 1725.

I have not yet heard from the Gentleman who went to England, and I am sure has delivered the message I sent. It was to propose the sending one over hither upon a notice to be given. I shall see soon whether it will be complied with. I chose to send to a person of some weight and experience. Lord Wharton, with all his great talents, has not yet authority enough to set a matter of consequence forward among friends.

Norton's [Gen. Dillon] Letter was delivered* and an

* This letter is given in a note to No. XXXI. page 166. Both the Bishop and Murray agreed in dissuading James from having that to the Duc de Bour-

account also sent him of another designed for M. Le Duc, and which would be delivered if he did not comply. He has yet returned no manner of answer, but Mr Inese solicited him also on the same head, and is persuaded that he will still comply.

The paper sent by P. Kurakin to Muscovy,† comes to you, Sir, by this post. Mr. Keith sets out to morrow for Spain, fully instructed to discourse the Duke of Ormond, and to undertake any part there that shall be allotted him. His capacities are very good, and his integrity and honour equal to them. We have agreed upon secret and sure methods of correspondence. Whatever orders you shall please to give him there, I am satisfied [will] be executed with punctuality, zeal and prudence. I could not have obeyed your commands in naming such a person, more to my own satisfaction. 'Tis pity he has hitherto lain unemployed.

I shall wait for news from the North and Spain, before I say any thing farther on either of those heads; and add only a reflection upon the disarming of the Clans. If no foreign help shall come before that is effected, a noble opportunity will be lost, which perhaps may not ever afterwards be easily recovered. I reckon it will be three or four months before that matter comes to bear; and and when it does, they will scarce part with their arms without a struggle, whether they be supported or not. And surely nothing can be of more consequence than that consideration

I am Sir,

Your most obedient,

and ever faithful Servant.

bon delivered; and by what appears in the postscript of this letter, the bare announcement of such an intention was sufficient to cause Dillon's compliance.

† The Memorial drawn up by Atterbury and translated into French by Daniel O'Brien, who delivered it to Prince Kurakin on the 28th of April 1725. It is that mentioned on page 174 as not being then put into Cypher, and is supposed to be that alluded to in the preceding letter.

Monday Evening, past 8.

[P. S.] This moment Norton [Gen. Dillon] is gone from me, promising immediate compliance. He told me in plain terms, that the receipt of your letter had disquieted him so much as to throw him into an illness, which had lasted ten days. He is so mortified and grieved at the very thought of your writing to M. Le Duc on that occasion, that I dare say you will be pleasd, Sir, at the Letter's not being delivered. In my conscience I believe that it would have cut him to the heart so, as that he would scarce have recovered it. He will go to St. Germains this week, and as soon as he has delivered up the Papers, will write to you, I suppose the post after next.

Endorsed by [James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester to the king May 7th 1725"

XXXVII.

SIR, *May* 7 1725.

I have been for some time sensible of how little consequence I am to your service, on the account of my defects and infirmities, and some particular disadvantages under which I lie. I have still more reason to believe it by Finlay's [Mr. Murray] late conduct towards me; from which it plainly appears, what slight thoughts he has of my opinion or assistance in any point committed to his care.

I have seen somewhat of this kind growing upon him for about six weeks past: but the late steps he has taken shews that he has sought an occasion of withdrawing from me all at once, and is under no apprehension that the service either will, or will be thought to suffer by that means. I say sought it — being very sure that I have not given it him, any otherwise than by differing in opinion from him, in points of high consequence, and expressing

my dissent with earnestness indeed, but without incivility, whatever representation he may have made to the contrary. I understand he has written on this head by the last post to yourself, Sir, as well as to Lumnsden [Lord Inverness]. I made no secret of what I wrote by the same post; but let Johnsonton [Col. O'Brien] peruse the letter twice, that he might report the contents to Finlay. He has not been so free on his side, in communicating to me what he wrote. But I hope, Sir, by your order I shall obtain a copy of it, as I am willing he should have copies of every thing I write on this subject. In the mean time, Sir, your service stands still, as far as I may be of use in it: and that at a very critical juncture, when even the reputation of it, as well as a real union among those who are to carry it on, is of great moment. I know nothing of Finlay's present measures, but round about by Johnsonton, after they are taken and put in execution: much less have I any lights from him to enable me to pass a sure judgment on the whole. He has sent me indeed two or three letters which he received from Rome: but neither asked my opinion on any thing, nor if he did, do I well know how to give it him. My domestics already observe, that he has kept at a distance now for near a fortnight. From them the town will soon learn it, and from their conjectures. Should Johnsonton be ill, as he often is, I should then see nobody that is trusted by you.

This, Sir, is the present state of affairs here. I am at a loss what to offer to you upon it: because I cannot well see what will re-establish the confidence (that was between Finlay and me) upon a sure foot; and without it nothing is likely to prosper that goes through our hands.

At any other point of time, I could easily quiet things by retiring and leaving him to act in the manner he seems to like best: and even now, I shall readily take that step, if it

may contribute to your service; the promoting of which is the great object of my thoughts, and the chief end that I aim at. For I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient, dutiful,

and faithful Servant.

[This letter is not endorsed. It was enclosed in the preceding communication, (of the same date) and one endorsement served for both.]

XXXVIII.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *May 7*, 1725.

The accounts which last post brought you of the situation of matters here, will satisfy you how far I am deprived of other subjects for my letters, beside those which yours afford me. I will go through the particulars of your last dated April 18, and give you my sense of them.

I have already observed upon Cardinal Polignac's declaration, what I need not repeat, as to a parallel case. The first part of Cardinal Polignac's assertion is notoriously false: and so may therefore be the last, as far as depends upon the sincerity of his instructors. However, the general opinion is otherwise, and therefore I submit — though the intimacy and close conjunction between the two courts is at this day as great as ever, and scarce any good account but that, can be given of so strict an union.*

* Hay's letter, dated April 18, 1725, to which this is an answer, has not been found, and it will therefore be difficult, perhaps impossible, to clear up many passages in this of the Bishop. The above paragraph alludes most probably to the rumoured marriage of one of the daughters of King George II. to Louis XV. which no one could persuade Atterbury was abandoned, notwithstanding Cardinal Polignac's assurance to that effect.

I am thankful for the omitting to mention my name* in the letter to Dagget [Bishop of Fréjus] and extremely willing that matters of that kind should go on in the channel wherein they now are — which will please every body best. What is fit to be known by me of those matters will, I suppose, someway or other, be communicated. I wish it may be found, that the civilities you mention continue and increase, when they will signify any thing and be followed by real performances. At present, you know, Sir, my real opinion of them, and of the principle from whence they spring.

Filmore's [Lord Mar] complaining of me to you, Sir, and particularly in the point of secrecy, is a farce. Doubtless, he is under great concern lest Olly's Strang [Sir Robert Walpole's brother]† should come to the knowledge of things, having been always himself so reserved and shy towards Lintall's Falconers [Duke of Hannover's Ministers]. His denial of the Vindication‡ is a singular instance

* Horatio Walpole, afterwards created Baron Walpole of Wolterton, Co. Norfolk.

† In the letter which Atterbury addressed to the Chevalier on the 20th of February, 1725, he touches upon this subject, and requests that the Bishop of Fréjus may not be put upon making any further enquiries of him in relation to the present state of England. James complied with this request, and in his answer states, that he had not named him in the letter he then wrote to the Bishop; for which Atterbury in the one he forwarded to Hay on the 16th of the following April, expressed his thanks, — and he here repeats them. See note page 141.

‡ Atterbury, in the letter he forwarded to James on the 29th of January, 1725, had mentioned the fact that Mar had written a Justification of his conduct. It seems strange, but for the reason assigned by Hay in the note on page 124, that if Mar thought it necessary to put forth a vindication of himself, he should show such a disinclination to its being generally seen and perused; and his denial of having written one, as here mentioned, is still more extraordinary. If his object were to prevent any copy of it ever reaching Rome — he failed, as will be presently seen; for Hay was evidently very soon informed of the circumstance, and had mentioned it in his letter to Atterbury, which called forth the Bishop's present observation. Mr. Murray

of his veracity. I know two persons of great quality (one of either sex) who have seen and read it. The true way of

just before leaving Paris to take upon himself the office of governor to the Chevalier's eldest son, states in a letter to his brother-in-law, dated Aug. 6, 1725. "My brother is here; and R. Freeb — n [Robert Freebairn] at London, charged him to tell me that Martel had sent over there, a Piece consisting of fifty-six sheets of paper, which was chiefly aimed against you, and mentioned me only by the by. He said Peter Smith was master of a copy, and that Lord Bal —— o [Balmerino] had an abstract of it sent him, of six sheets of paper; so that if you think it worth while to have a copy of it, you are best judge in what manner you can sett about it." Hay did set about it, and succeeded in obtaining a copy, apparently, by the agency of the aforesaid Peter Smith; from whose letter dated, (it is believed from Boulogne,) September 10, 1725, we find that Hay had written to him relative to this subject on the 22nd of the preceding month. After some observations relating to a prior communication of Hay, Mr. Smith observes, "I come now to answer your last, and had I thought that what I knew was of consequence and unknown to you, Mr. Weir's [Frebairn's] intelligence would have been very late: nor can I approve of his way without advising me, since all that past was in our conversation; so shall as fully as possible inform you of all I know, and you shall use it as you please; for I will ever openly set my face to what I think for Mr. Massey's [the King's] interest. I can scarce think it is a secret to you or those at Paris, for when the Duke was here, he spoke very freely of all the accusations against him, and talkt all over in his vindication. What I by chance had the perusal of, is writ. I cant tell how many sheets their is of it, nor if he sent [it] in to England, or publisht them. It was too long to copy in the time I could have it, nor doe I believe any copy was taken here, but the Duke has it certainly still. There was also a letter to L. Bal —— ino in Scotland of three or four sheets, which is a summary of all the other: that I know was copyd, and Ile try to get it and send it your Lordship, if you think it needful by your next. I would have done it now, but the person [who] has it, is not in town, nor will be, this six weekes."

The copy here promised is now in the collection in Peter Smith's own hand-writing, and consists, as Murray described it, of six sheets of paper. It is endorsed by Hay himself, "Copie D. Mar to Ld. B —— o, Sept. 29th, 1724."

This letter to Lord Balmerino appears to be alluded to in one from Mr. John Ferguson (Atterbury's occasional amanuensis) to James Edgar, dated from Boulogne, March 25, 1729, when in speaking of a certain person there, (whom he designates under the initial F.) and stating that "he had convincing proofs of his being the worst of men," proceeds to state that "he swore to me when I arrived, that he had keept no correspondence with

dealing with him is to shew, that one does not believe him, and is not afraid of him. What could tempt him to write such a familiar epistle to you, Sir, at this juncture? I am not displeased to find that he makes me (and me only) his mark. That is a better proof of what he really thinks of me, than what he says.

Rothe has his letter.* Rotier is better contented and pleased with his answer than I apprehended he would be. I believe, however, he intends not to move your way till Autumn: and will then bring his son with him, and leave him at Rome with some master there eminent for designing. The youth has a great genius that way, and the father's journey is only on his account, and from a motive of loyalty.

As to the letter I am to expect from 1993 [Marquis of Seaforth] next post, give me leave, Sir, to say something on that head before I receive it.

L. M. [Lord Mar] since the year 1724. This is so false that, to my certain knowledge, he has been, and is, the canal throw which the other has convey'd his scurroulous letters to the other side, particularly one to My Lord Balmerrino, of which the honest F. keept a copie." It is very probable that the copy here mentioned is the same as that noticed above by Peter Smith, and from which he had his transcript.

* In answer, seemingly, to a congratulatory one from General Rothe on the birth of the Chevalier's second son, and not in any way connected with the wish expressed by Atterbury in his letter of the 30th of April (see p. 174). It is not however improbable but that his representation of the General's merits may have determined James to write a subsequent one, dated from Albano, June 14, 1725 (mentioned in the note on page 175), by which he gave him the principal command in the meditated descent on Scotland in case the Highlanders resisted the government in its attempt to disarm them.

The letter — the delivery of which is here mentioned, was from James himself, dated April 13, 1725, and in it he assures the General that "The hearty zeal you express for me on the occasion of the Duke's birth, is not new to me. I have had many marks of it, and retain for you that same value which you have so long deserved; and of which I hope I may be yet able to give you some proofs."

He knows, I believe (because I do) that his kinsman was put upon the list of the pensions soon after the Queen Mother's death, together with several others who had no pension before, as he had, and yet enjoyed the benefit of that new list: particularly young Gordon of Boulogne; Capt. Ereskin, at Lord Marr's request; and Clephane's nephew, Lyon. These particulars [are] I reckon, known to 1993. However I find he is extremely earnest in the matter, and thinks his honour touched in it. Perhaps at this article of time, when our eyes are intent on what will happen to the Clans, a person of the Marquis of Seafort's figure and importance should not be disobliged; as I find he certainly will be, if his application to Mercer [the King] does not succeed. But I wait for the letter, which is to arrive next post.*

* Lord Seafort, whose letters to James began about this time to have an exceedingly dissatisfied tone, wrote to the Chevalier on this subject. His letter bears date the 17th of April, 1725, and in it he says, "As it is a part of the greatest happiness a subject can possess, to have the liberty to apply to his Sovereign when he wants, so there can be no greater satisfaction than to have one so bountifully condescending that way as your Majestie, which hitherto has occasioned my so often presuming to trouble you with letters, either in behalf of myself or others. But as at present it is in regard to the latter, I hope your Majestie will the easier pardon the freedom."

"Mr. William Mackenzie, a near relation of my own, who has been with me this great while, and for whom, deservedly, I have a great value, was at my desire, by the late Queen, your Majesties mother, put upon the Officers list (he having served as such in your army) and punctually pay'd during her life: and after her decease, was mark'd down in that of the French Lieutenant Colonels, in order to receive the same allowance with others in that class: but hitherto for want of application (my ever dreading to be troublesome to your Majestie) has not yet touch'd a farthing; therefore I must now humbly beg, Sir, you will be so graciously good as to send me an order for Mr. Dickison, in whose hands the list is, that he may be duly pay'd on the footing with the rest. And since it is the French King's money that clears all these Gentlemen, I hope my begging this favour, will seem not out of the way; it not depriving your Majestie of any particular share of your own."

"I have two reasons to urge the request more pressingly than otherwise perchance I would do. The one, my circumstances being in so narrow a condition, are out of capacity to supply his wants; and the other, that of six-

Clanronald is ill of a consumption, and given over. I enclosed to you sometime ago three letters to Mr. Foster, Mr. Barkly, and Father Williams. You have not mentioned them in yours to me, though I hope they arrived safe, and that you were so good as to direct the delivery of them.

The enclosed was sent me from Holland.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, &c.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, May 7th, 1725."

XXXIX.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *May* 14, 1725.

I shall do, as directed, with regard to 1993 [Lord Seafort] as soon as I can go to him at Mudon: for it is not to be done otherwise. I could wish a more proper hand than mine had been pitched upon for such a service — or, if not, that at least proper instructions to discourse him had been sent. For though I know what to say to him in general, yet as to particular facts and lights, that might be made use of in the case, I am at a loss, as you may imagine — and

teen or seventeen gentlemen of my name attainted on your Majestie's behalf, not one a burden to you, tho' to my certain knowledge, others, even at home, have been."

Lord Seafort however could not include himself in the above number, for there is evidence to prove that his own circumstances were very straightened and that he was obliged to rely, occasionally, upon James for assistance; but whether he were too importunate, or asked for favours which James could not grant, or expressed himself in a manner that was not liked, or all these combined — it is certain that he became extremely dissatisfied with what he considered to be James' reluctance to comply with his wishes; and, as will be shortly seen, expressed his dissatisfaction in no very delicate language.

have nobody from whom I can seek information. After a letter in such a style from that Lord to Mercer [the King] I cannot expect to be very gently treated by him when I come upon so unwelcome an errand. However, I will do my part.*

Lord Lansdown's paragraph would have surprized me indeed, did I not consider under whose crafty and malicious influence he is; and had I not received of late some letters from him, by which he seems to have entertained thoughts and resolutions, that I scarce believed his breast could ever have harboured. I say, seems; for I do not think he will or can execute them, on many accounts; and am of opinion he sent them to me, on purpose, that I should transmit them farther: for which reason I did not, and do not impart them. Were he and Filmore [Duke of Mar] separated, I flatter myself, I should dislodge these thoughts, and bring him to reason; but as things stand now, I almost despair of seeing him, and till I do, think it

* There is some difficulty, from the loss of certain portions of the Correspondence, in clearing up this passage. It cannot be supposed to allude to Lord Seafort's request concerning his kinsman, as mentioned in the preceding letter, for the language here used proves that it must apply to something of a much more important nature — and the absorbing question then was, the contemplated attempt on Scotland. If therefore this latter were the subject on which Atterbury was to discourse; the language he uses not only here, but particularly in the following letter, would lead to the belief that Lord Seafort at this time contemplated the step which, a year later, he carried into effect; and this, in fact, is corroborated by a passage in the letter which he then addressed to James (July 30, 1726) announcing his intended return to England; for he there says, "Last year I lay'd before Your Majestie, for your approbation, the proposal made me by my people." To this proposal, however, James withheld his consent, and hence it may easily be imagined, arose the lukewarmness and irritability exhibited by his Lordship. This it is believed gives the real clue to his conduct at this time, which, as will be presently seen, was the cause of the whole scheme being abandoned. The letter he forwarded to the Chevalier, announcing his intention to return to Britain, will be found in the APPENDIX to No. XLIII. page 173.

will be better to say nothing of what has been written to me.*

Nothing more need be said of Lord Bolingbroke, after I have sent you the copy of his petition, and you have observed from it in what a mean state of mind he is, and how low he has stooped to gain a very little point, not worth his while, under any other view, than that of its being some time or other, an inlet to greater; in which however he may be, and, I hope will be deceived: and then, I suppose, we shall hear of him again — if by that time there be any need of him.

I have read to Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] what you wrote about the northern ministers. He hopes, there is no occasion for mistrust. You may have perceived some hints in my letters, which shewed, I did not perfectly relish Methuen [Prince Kurakin] after two conversations I had with him† — and I have therefore been very backward

* This is supposed to allude to the letter which Lord Lansdown addressed to James on the 15th of January, 1724-5. and printed in the APPENDIX, page 129.

† Murray, in a letter he sent to Hay, bearing the same date with this of Atterbury, touches upon what he designates the Bishop's refinements regarding Prince Kurakin, "I sent," he tells him, "your last to the Bishop, but I know no more any thing of what you write to him. I perceive by what you wrote by last post to Daniel, that the Bishop has sent you some of his refinements as to Prince Kurakin, with which he tortured me for several hours together, and of which it seems I laboured in vain to cure him. I must beg of you to be on your guard as to these imaginations which may otherways mislead one at a distance, and that you would be pleased to consider whether, seriously, there be the least occasion for such reflections. The case is plain, this person is trusted by his Master and not by us. We learn from him such matters as his orders permitt him to communicate, and he learns nothing from us, so that we can as little avoid treating with him while he is employed by his master, as we could to have nothing to do with him the moment he should name another in his place; nor can the quarrel between him and the other person* alter this conduct unless it should occa-

* The Envoy of the Duke of Holstein at Paris.

towards putting any thing of consequence into his hands, especially till we had farther and clearer assurances from the North. But others did not think so: and I yielded. I hope, we shall find no inconvenience from what has been done.

The Accounts come slow from that quarter: but what comes is (as you see by what Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] writes) hitherto all of a piece. It were well if matters cleared up farther and faster, that the opportunity of all those seasonable coincidences, which I have mentioned, and which we have still reason to expect, may not be lost.

I am told, the Treaty signed on the 30th was only, or chiefly, an acknowledgement of Mader [the King of Spain], though the world talks loudly of other things included in it. However, that leading article will, and must be soon, followed by others of moment. I see not as yet the least ground for the rumour given out that the resentment of Spain abates; and I think we may be certain it will not, if that court and the court of Vienna, unite strictly; and as certain that it will, if they do not.

I have said too much already on the Match, to add a word more till the event clears things.

Backny H. [General Hamilton] had all the cautions in the world infused into him, and gave the most solemn assurances of secrecy; and, I verily believe, will stick to them. I have a letter from him, the chief article of which is an account of Walkingshaw's being taken up, and dismissed, together with the rest of the ship's crew — which I

sion his removal. Were it our business to judge of Prince Kurakin, I own, I believe him to be a very sincere and a very honourable man; but it belongs to his master who confides in him, and not to us, to form this judgment. I don't write to you on these affairs because I know you are informed by another hand of the particulars which are material: and certainly neither I nor the Bishop know any thing on this subject but what he tells us."

have not time to extract, and suppose you will have otherwise an account of this matter.

I have heard also from England. One will be sent over as soon as matters are a little prepared, and I have no doubt of being able to communicate and receive the Lights necessary, when they shall become so.

Father Williams gives me no account of the council, but in two printed papers, containing the business of two Congregations; by which I perceive, as you hint, how it is likely to end. I am glad, Mercer and Kerny [the King and Queen] are out of the way,* while that company is at Rome and those affairs are transacting; and hope such journies may soon cover another of more significance.

I sent Mr. Ferguson your letter, though his to you, which I suppose you answered, must have come to you through other hands, and I am wholly a stranger to the contents of it.†

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, May 14th, 1725."

XL.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *Paris, June* 4, 1725.

The letters of May 17, (which came not by the post, but

* This was another of the Bishop's refinements according to Murray, who thus speaks of it in the letter from which the preceding Note is taken, "There is another thing with which the Bishop pleagued me formerly, which I own to you, I never thought deserved to be mentioned. He was frightened at Knight's [the King's] being in or about Rome during the Councill: and for my part I never could find a good reason why the assembling of a Councill should make the least alteration in that matter."

† Mr. John Ferguson had been employed (probably as an amanuensis) by

by some other way to Waters) have reached me so late, that I cannot answer them, as I should do, by this post; and have little to add, of my own, to what went by the Courier on Tuesday last. Only, it is fit Mercer [the King] should know, without loss of time, that Lord Seafort is in better temper, and begins to excuse his late backwardness, and, I believe, to be a little ashamed of it; so as to wish, he had sent as particular and full accounts of things, as were desired of him. This will make every thing go easy here with the rest of the Clans, and gives me ground to think that he has had some intelligence from home, that the alarm there is not so great as was apprehended, and that they will be able to make a stand against what is intended.*

I have time only to own my mistake about the million. So much has been borrowed this year upon the fund allotted; but the Present to the Duke of Hannover, was only of half that sum.

Atterbury, whom he had left in consequence of some disagreement. This of course must have been perfectly well known to Murray, and it is singular that just at this time, Hay should have written to him to know how he stood with the Bishop. However, whether it were by accident or in consequence of any prompting of Murray that caused Hay to desire this information, it is certain that on the very day the former despatched his letters to Rome (April 30, 1725) narrating the quarrel with Atterbury, Mr. Ferguson wrote also to the Chevalier's Secretary of State, giving him certain details of the Bishop's hasty temper and treatment of himself, and, singular as it may appear, Murray too, just at this critical juncture, thought it but justice to write to Hay in Mr. Ferguson's favour—recommending the payment of his debts, and pointing him out as a proper person to be sent on a mission to Scotland, if James' affairs required it. Extracts from Ferguson's and Murray's letters are in the APPENDIX, page 161-2.

* Hay acknowledged the receipt of this letter on the 20th of June, and in commenting upon this passage, he observes, "The King is glad to hear that Lord Seafort becomes more plyable, though I am apt to believe that his natural temper was the occasion of his past conduct, and that his changing of it, proceeded more from his changing of humour, than from any intelligence he may have had from home."

I return the letter,* as Mercer [the King] directs. I cannot decline transmitting letters† which other persons send me; but no ways interest myself in the contents of them. Be pleased to let your servant deliver those to Mr. Radclyffe and Sir David [Nairn.]

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

and very faithful Servant.

Addressed "To Mr. Lumnsden" [Hay] and endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, June 4th, 1725."

[The following Note was found enclosed in the above letter which it seems to have accompanied. It was evidently the cover of a letter for James, as on the outside of the preceding one, appears the following Memorandum, written by Hay, "a letter for the King." Being, when

* This was, probably, the letter written by the Chevalier to the Duke of Bourbon, regarding Dillon and the Papers in his custody. Hay, in his letter of the 20th of June, assures the Bishop, "I have delivered to the King, His Majesty's letter for Mons. Le Duc, which you returned; and have sent the letters to Mr. Ratcliff and Sir David Nairn, as well as delivered the one from Mr. Charles Ratcliff to the King." Respecting this last see the following note.

† We may conclude from some remarks in Hay's letter of the 20th of June, relative to Mr. Charles Radclyffe, and his uncle the above named Mr. Radclyffe, that this observation relates to an enclosure which Atterbury forwarded from the former to the Chevalier. As it is short, and the request curious, considering the time it was made, it may be here given.

SIR,

By Your Majesty's obliging letter, by constancy and love, I have obtained my dear Comtess of Newbrugh. We now beg of Your Majesty and of the Queen to do us the honour to be God-father and God-mother to whatever God Allmighty will please to send us. I am, with all respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most

Humble, most obedient, and dutiful Subject,

CHARLES RADCLYFFE.

May the 30th, 1725.

put by among the Chevalier's other papers, enclosed as abovementioned, it has no endorsement, that on the larger communication, answering for both. It is however addressed by Atterbury himself; "To the Right Honourable the Earl of Inverness."]

June 4.

The enclosed I received this moment, after making up my Packet; but think I ought to send it, as it shews that the other which I return also (by order) is now of no use.

XLI.

[The following is only a small Fragment of a letter addressed to Hay on the 11th of June, 1725, the first four pages of which, as may be seen by the last paragraph of the portion here printed, are lost. It appears to have been accompanied by one of the same date for James himself, and this also has shared the fate of the first part of the one forwarded to his Secretary.]

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

I imparted what you wrote to me in your last about Lord Seafort's smaller request, in your very words; and found by him, that he had received the same account some time before from Mr. Dicconson.*

I thank you for Henry's [Lord North's] and Fincastle's [Lord Marischal's] cyphers which I will immediately make use of.

I have seen two or three letters written to Finlay [Mr. Murray] from your parts, during these seven weeks past.

* Notwithstanding the loss of Hay's letter containing "the very words" in which Atterbury chose to deliver the message to Lord Seafort — there can be no doubt, from the mention of Mr. Dicconson's name in conjunction with

I hope for the future we shall live in a stricter conjunction. Assure yourself, if we do not, it shall be none of my fault. Pray perswade him not to magnify little differences, or make them the subjects of solemn complaints. If that be the case, there will be no ease or confidence between us. We are old friends and mean the same thing, and cannot well interfere with each other, in our views, on any point. If I err in an expression, or even in an opinion, my age, infirmities, and sufferings, may be allowed to plead my excuse and to cover it in silence. But enough and too much of this matter.*

I had the story of W —— w's [Walkingshaw's] seizure and dismission, from Holland; and from a sure hand. There was such a smutty circumstance in it, that I could not perswade myself to relate it to you. But I made a shift to tell it Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien]; and if he has not sent it to you, pray demand it of him: there is something very singular and entertaining in the account.†

his Lordship's request, but that the passage relates to the subject of Mr. William Mackenzie, his Lordship's kinsman, mentioned in the note on page 193. It is here called "Lord Seafort's smaller request" to distinguish it from one mentioned in No. XLIII.

* This eloquent and most touching passage, contrasts strongly with Murray's petulant and hasty conduct in the unfortunate affair to which it alludes, and of which the reader will find an ample account in the APPENDIX to Letter XXXIII. page 145.

† The mention of this circumstance in one of Atterbury's former communications (No. XXXIX.) seems to have produced some question from Hay to which this passage is an answer. Hay's curiosity was so far excited, as to cause him to write to O'Brien (June 27) for an explanation. "I am told," he observes, "that you can give me an account of Mr. Walkingshaw's being seized and set at liberty in Scotland, and that there are some diverting circumstances in it, which may not come with so good a grace from a Prelate's pen — therefore let me beg of you to let us partake of the diversion that it has given you." It may, however, be readily imagined that what the Bishop could not persuade himself to relate, may very well be passed by in silence, and that the more readily, as a passage in one of Mr. Murray's letters (April 23, 1725) creates a doubt whether the affair ever happened. "I believe," he

It is as you say in your letter of April 18, I mistook in thinking Filmore [the Duke of Mar] had written to you, for want of due attention.

Sir Harry Goring passed through Paris to St. Germains, but I saw him not — and perhaps may not see him. If I did, I should not consult with him; though in the day of action he may be of use. He talks of soon returning to England.

If the whispered news I have mentioned at the end of the fourth page, prove true, then will be the time to try France with the Proposal, which has been so often declined, but which may at last be hearkened to, when it shall appear that England has led them into this snare, and can only upon a Restoration, lead them out of it. I will watch this affair, and discourse Finlay [Mr. Murray] upon it.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient
and faithful servant.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, June 11th, 1725."

XLII.

SIR, *Monday, June* 25, 1725.

Upon the receipt of yours of June 6, I was of opinion that two of the four letters enclosed (those to Merton) [King of France] should be delivered immediately to Dagget [the Bishop of Fréjus] rather than Sussex [the Duke of Bourbon]; because there is a freer access to the former than the latter; and consequently, there would be

states, "the story of Walkingshaw's imprisonment has been a romance from beginning to ending, for it never has been mentioned in the publick papers, and I have not heard any mention of it since the first report."

hopes of gaining greater light from him in discourse than from the other. Accordingly Finlay [Mr. Murray] went to him on Saturday, and found opportunities of saying to him and hearing from him, a good deal relating to the general state of your affairs. I leave the relation of particulars to the letter you will receive from him this post: and only add the observations I made when he reported the whole to me.*

1. It is now put beyond all doubt, that you have nothing to expect from hence, while the strict friendship between England and France continues; and continue it will, till matters are made up between Spain and France, of which there is not as yet you find, Sir, any probability; nor will it happen till the Emperor, whose influence governs all in Spain, has served his ends on France (whatever they are) by this alliance. It is confessed by France, that England is now its only ally, and consequently the alliance between them must be now stricter than ever, and therefore there is nothing now to be managed with France beyond your private concerns which you have ordered to be solicited here, which may probably the rather succeed because no applications of a more important kind will.

2. It appears from the questions asked, that there is a great jealousy of application elsewhere; a proof to me, that such applications are natural and reasonable, and that you are wanting to yourself, Sir, if you do not make them, provided you have the least encouragement so to do. And

* The Chevalier's letter dated June 6, 1725, to which this of Atterbury is an answer, has not been found; and the same remark applies to Murray's account of his interview with the Bishop of Fréjus, as well as to any copies of the four letters he here mentions. Hay, however, also wrote at the same time, and from his letter we learn, that the King of France's marriage had been declared at Rome on the previous day; and there can be little doubt but that these were congratulatory letters from James and Clementina to the King and Queen of France.

all steps of that kind, which relate even to Spain, must now be transacted at Vienna, which includes all; and therefore the presence of the Duke of Wharton there will be very seasonable. I hope he is come to Paris, having just received a message from an unknown person just arrived. If it be he, I shall know before the sealing of this letter, and will not fail to give him as full and wary Instructions as I can, and press his journey. This application to Vienna is now the more reasonable, because

3. 'Tis plain at least that the Emperor and the Duke of Hannover are two, and heartily angry with each other; an event which I could scarce hope to see happen so soon, and to have so good proof of. I know very well that the Emperor will be the judge of his own interest, and act accordingly; but he may be disposed to see it and lay hold of it by proper and early applications, which you, Sir, know best how to manage.* It appears —

* James replied to this letter of Atterbury on the 10th of July, 1725, and in reference to Mr. Murray's interview and the necessity of looking to the Emperor for assistance in preference to the Court of France, he observes, "Mr. Murray's conversation with the Bishop of Fréjus is very remarkable, and your reflections on it very judicious. You will have already seen how far I enter into them, and nothing shall be neglected to incline the Emperor to espouse my interest heartily. I have not received any fresh accounts directly from the North. Should the Emperor and the Czarine agree matters together, it would make my affair go very easy; and on the whole, I own, I do not much regret the little or rather no hopes left us of assistance from France, after having been for so many years amused by them, and at a time that we have the most promising prospect from other places."

The passage in the above extract, stating that Atterbury would already have seen how much he (James) entered into his views regarding the measures to be adopted towards the Emperor, alludes, it is supposed, to certain information which Hay had conveyed to the Bishop in one of his letters, dated June 16, 1725, where in reference to this topic, he informs him, "I have had an interview with the Emperor's Minister here, Cardinal Cienfuegos, the first ever I had or he would have been willing to have given till now. He told me, after all the professions of friendship to the King I

4. That a war in the North not only is, but is here thought to be, unavoidable; and very prejudicial to the affairs of the two new allies, particularly those of the Duke of Hannover in the North; and therefore the opportunity favours any proposals of distressing him elsewhere, and will be the more readily listened to: for which reason also I could wish, that your resolution still may be, to support the Clans, because their making a stand will be an encouragement to others to make an attempt in your favour; and their laying down their arms will have a contrary effect. It deserves also observation

5. What care is taken even here, to enquire into all the steps you take, and to have notice from the most distant parts, of your messengers; for they knew before you did, of Captain Hay's being at Petersburg. The reflection arising from hence, is the same with that suggested Numb. 2, and moreover shews, that unless the stroke be struck from Norway, it may probably be disappointed, inasmuch as it will certainly be suspected if not actually discovered.

It is needless to add more. What I have said will suggest what might be added on these heads, if you shall judge such reflections as these, of any moment or

could expect from him, that he was in hopes matters would turn favorably for the King;—that his master would certainly keep his engagements to the Elector of Hannover, so long as the Elector of Hannover dealt fairly by him;—that if the Elector of Hannover united with France, as it was believed he had, he was sure his master would resent it. He argued how little it was for the interest of the empire, that a member of it should be so powerful as the Elector of Hannover was. My discourse to him tended to show him that the King did not attribute the Emperor's late conduct to any personal aversion the Emperor had to him, but to the circumstances of the times; and I let him understand that the King's situation was such as to joyn with those who would undertake his restoration—and there I left it to take its course, and I don't despair of hearing soon of the returns he may receive from his Court to the Account he certainly will give of our conversation."

worth improving. I could not see how the two letters for Mrs. Merton [the Queen of France] might properly be delivered here, and therefore have rather thoughts of sending them by King Stanislaus' minister.*

Of Norton's [General Dillon] compliance you have in part an account; and I hope will receive a fuller in due time, as to the other papers he was ordered to deliver; I mean cyphers, powers or printed papers, and forms, &c., he may have in his custody. If he sends word of what is done, you may perhaps, Sir, think it proper to let him know in return, what is further expected.†

I have considered all the particulars mentioned in your letter, and obeyed all your commands as far as my sad state of health and the recluse solitary life I am obliged to lead, have enabled me to do it. Had I more light into things, and more opportunities of gaining it, I might perhaps be somewhat more useful. As the case is with me, I do my best; and what is wanting in abilities, endeavour

* Hay in his reply (July 11, 1725) to the letter which Atterbury wrote to him by this same post, observes, "The King approves of the method you took in delivering of the two letters for the King of France, and the lights drawn from the Bishop of Fréjus, shows that that step was right; and the King thinks you'll do very right to send the two letters for the future Queen, to her father's minister at Paris."

† In noticing what Atterbury here mentions respecting the delivery of Dillon's Papers, Hay in the letter mentioned in the preceding note, assures the Bishop that "the papers My Lord Mar and Mr. Dillon have delivered up, are not near what were put into their hands. There were many papers sent by an Express that parted the 4th of August, 1723, on the supposition that an enterprize then was to be made, of which you'll judge by a list which I send you, comparing it with the list of those that Mr. Dillon has delivered up." From this list it is clear that the Papers sent as above mentioned by the Express, related exclusively to what Atterbury (No. XXIV. page 112) calls "The wretched Scheme," which appears to have been devised by Mar on purpose, as Hay thought, to cover other matters, and to amuse James with a show of zeal for his service. See APPENDIX, page 97.

to make out by my prayers for your prosperity and happiness.* I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient and

ever faithful servant.

I add the words of a letter I lately received from Jamieson [the Duke of Ormonde].

"Yesterday I received yours of the 9th by our friend, in whom I shall have all the confidence that you desire and that he deserves. You could not have pitched on any person more agreeable to me: for I am very well acquainted with his merit."

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester to the King, June 25th, 1725"

XLIII.

SIR, *June*† [*July*] 2, 1725.

The Persons‡ sent and the Papers came all safe and in

* It would appear that he must also have said something regarding his ill state of health in the letter he sent to Mr. Hay; — for the latter observes in reply (July 11), "I shall say nothing in answer to the last article of your letter, only that I am heartily sorry that your health is not such as you would wish. I shall always be sorry that you put yourself to the trouble of writing long letters. The necessary [letters] I hope you'll always be able to write, either by yourself or by another; but you'll excuse me ever for looking out for another correspondent — that's a business I can assure you I wont undertake: and when your infirmities drive you into a corner as you mention, there are a great many others who will be glad to seek a corner likeways: but I hope this is a case that will never happen. I pray for your health more than I do for my own, and when yours fails you, mine will signify very little."

† It is apparent from the circumstance mentioned at the beginning of the second paragraph of this letter, that the Bishop has by mistake, dated it *June* 2 instead of *July* 2. That the latter is the true period of its being written, may also be further demonstrated by the letter which James wrote to Atterbury on the 18th of July in acknowledgement of its receipt; an extract from which is given in the last note to this letter.

‡ Mr. Allan Cameron and the Chevalier Geraldin. They appear to have

due time. The next morning after the receipt of them, I saw 1993 [Marquis of Seafort] and delivered the letter directed to him and the two others.* He then told me that he had above ten days, sent word to the Highlands, through England, that they should submit, and that it was your opinion that they should do so. That he had assurances from England that if the Clans did not resist, they should have good terms, and that the Government would go no farther than barely to disarm them. That he had lately received a message back from England to this purpose, and was, withall, certainly informed, that forces were all at that time actually at Inverness, and that no help could come time enough to prevent the blow.

When I asked him how he came to send such a message,

left Rome on the 17th, and to have arrived at Paris on the 28th of June. Of Cameron's journey, Hay thus writes to the Bishop in his letter of the 16th of that month, "The King has thought fit to send Mr. Cameron to you with a view of your sending him immediately to Scotland; believing it necessary that one of the country should go immediately from himself to give the Highlanders assurance of the King's readyness to assist them: and you'll find here inclosed a Public Letter which he is to shew on his going over; and his Instructions: to which you'll add what may be convenient, according to the circumstances of the time when he arrives with you, or when you think fit to send him forward. And you'll find him ready to follow your directions in every particular."

In addition to the Public Letter and his own Instructions, mentioned in the above extract, Cameron must at the same time have conveyed to Atterbury the several blank Commissions mentioned and contained in Hay's letter of the 16th; together with the numerous letters addressed to all the most influential men in Scotland that were known or supposed to be well affected to James and his cause. These will be noticed presently.

* This letter was addressed to Lord Seafort, Sir Hector Maclean, and Locheill, as heads of Clans then residing at Paris. The portion of the Bishop's letter relating to the conference which took place on its delivery, proves that its object was to claim their services in carrying out the determination, which it appears had now been taken, to encourage the Highlanders to resist the Government in disarming them; and, if the occasion proved favourable, and the expected assistance came from the North, to make another attempt for the recovery of the crown.

he told me he had notice of your opinion by a letter from Rome,* which arrived here Friday was fortnight, June 15,

* It has been seen by the preceding note, that when James addressed the letter to the Clans here mentioned, he had determined to assist the Highlanders in their contemplated resistance. This resolution appears to have been taken between the 29th of May, 1725, the period when he forwarded the first letter to the Clans, and the 16th of June, when Hay sent the one which was now delivered. In his own letter to Atterbury of the last mentioned date, Hay observed, that at the time the King's letter to Lord Seafort, &c. (of the 29th) was sent, "he did not believe that the act made against the Highlanders was of so rigorous a nature as has been represented since;" and thinking it probable, apparently, that the storm might blow over, or that the government measure would not be very rigidly enforced, James, in this letter of May the 29th counselled Lord Seafort and the others "to write over to their friends at home that they may conceal their arms, and take all such like measures as may hinder, as much as possible, what they are threatened with, from taking effect; but you must also let them know that they should not, by any means, make a public resistance, till they receive my orders for so doing; which I cannot in justice send them till I have a morall certainty of being able to support them." Soon after writing this letter, however, he appears to have entertained an opinion, that the open resistance of the Highlanders would quicken the decision which, under such circumstances, he expected Russia would come to in his favour; and his whole thoughts then seemed bent upon seizing this occasion to organize a determined resistance to the Government. Hay, in his letter of the 16th of June above mentioned, after commenting upon some information transmitted to James on this subject by the Duke of Wharton, proceeds to observe, "However that be, and tho' what the King can do for the relief of these unfortunate people should come too late, His Majesty has thought fit to send what may be necessary and useful to them, hoping that it may yet come in time." He then adds, which clearly proves the nature of this second letter to the Clans, "By the lights the King has received hitherto, no assurance being yet come of any assistance from the North, nothing can be proposed to the Highlanders but to defend themselves in their own country, and protract time as long as they can. And let the worst happen, if they stick together and remain united amongst themselves, after uniting their force readily under the command of one General, they certainly will be able not only to prevent their being disarmed, but to harrass the Government to such a degree, that it will be glad to offer them honourable terms. To make them to do so, you'll receive by the post that parted three days ago, what will produce you, I hope, one hundred and eighty thousand livres, which you'll employ if necessary, towards buying up of ammunition, bisquet, brandy, &c., and transporting of the same with

and by which it appeared that you were then of that opinion: that you referred to this letter in your last to the Clans, and that he wondered how the former came not be delivered to them. I told him, I wondered more at his sending such a message without any authority from yourself, but that of a private news-letter only, from one friend at Vanburn [Rome] to another at St. Germains* (for I found

the officers, gentlemen, and arms, to be sent for this purpose." It is therefore as clear that, on the 29th of May, James had written a letter to Lord Seafort and the others, the purport of which was to discourage an open resistance to what was designed against them, as that the second letter transmitted on the 16th of June and now delivered, had for its object the organization of resistance to the Government. Lord Seafort was, therefore, not wrong in stating it to be James's wish, only a short time previously to this conversation, that the Highlanders should not openly resist the Government: but the letter that conveyed this advice, as we gather from the Bishop's remark a little further on, was not only not delivered, but does not appear even to have been communicated to him, and at this conference it was certainly refused to be shewn. His Lordship must, therefore, as here stated, have acted entirely upon the unauthorized information he had obtained, and not improbably, from the motives Atterbury here alludes to.

* It appears from a passage in Hay's letter to Atterbury, dated July 18, 1725, that the intelligence upon which Lord Seafort acted, was communicated in a letter from Allan Cameron to his brother Locheill. Cameron had received his information from Hay himself, and there can be little doubt but that at the time it was imparted, it was really the view then taken by the Pretender. Hay, in the above letter, thus speaks of the circumstance, "I wish Mr. Cameron had saved himself the trouble of writing to his brother at Paris, and his brother not showd to Lord Seafort what he write, who has not made use of it for his or his friend's advantage The accounts I found Lochyel had write to his brother, of the Clans at Paris letter to the King at that time and your conversation with them, made me say something to Cameron on the subject, tho' what I said was very imperfect, telling him that the King had write fully to you upon it, by whom his brother was to be directed: but I am sorry I said any thing, since he made such use of it; at least Lord Seafort would not have had the pretence he has, tho' I am perswaded he would have acted the same part; which does not proceed from lights he has received of so late a date as that, but from transactions on t'other side: therefore the King very much approves of your not delivering to him the first letter that was write to the Clans at Paris."

it was by that means he had got the intelligence) and that he should do this without the privity of any one, even of those from whom he had happened to gain light, and who were equally concerned with him in the affair, and without sending to me to know whether any such letter had indeed been written. He justified his acting upon such an uncertain notice, and said that nothing should make him retract the advice he had given, and insisted upon my shewing him the first letter;* which I declined doing, because I saw he wanted it only to support what he had done, without warrant, and what (it is now plain) he had always from the beginning resolved to do; having entered some time ago into measures for that purpose with those on the other side, in hopes of gaining easier terms for himself and friends by setting so good an example.† What

* The original of this first letter, as it is here designated to distinguish it from the one which was now delivered to Lord Seafort, is in the collection. It is dated from Rome, May 29, 1725, and addressed "For the Marquis of Seafort, Sir Hector Macleane, Locheill, and the Captain of Clanranald." Unlike the many other letters written at this period and sent to Paris by James, this has not a flying seal, because the parties to whom it was addressed being at the time in that city, it would, as a matter of course, from its important character, be delivered by Atterbury *himself*. In this instance, however, it does not appear that the Bishop thought it expedient to do so; and it is clear, from the observation he makes when refusing to show it to Lord Seafort at this interview, that his Lordship had not even seen it, or really knew what its contents were. Atterbury, in consequence of the power already delegated to him, had full authority to use his own discretion on any matter arising at this juncture; but in the affair of which we are now speaking, this was particularly accorded, for Hay in his letter of July 4, 1725, says, "I am affrayd the King's last letter to the Clans at Paris, since it referrd to the former one, would oblige you to deliver both at the same time: but you can best judge of that when you compare the letters with the circumstances of the time when you receive them." This first letter will be found in the APPENDIX, Page 162.

† The clue to Lord Seafort's whole behaviour on this occasion has been given in a note to No. XXXIX. page 195; and his own letter, as there noticed, proves that Atterbury was not wrong in his conjecture, and that he was (probably about the time of this transaction) carrying on a negotiation by means

steps he had taken and with whom he had dealt, he would not say; but owned he was out of hand to send another express, by which he would confirm the message that had gone by a former. To this, and a great deal more than this, that passed between us, Cameron, Sir H. [Sir Hector Maclean] and Lochiel were witnesses. I discoursed also Arkel [Mr. Inese], Finlay [Mr. Murray] and Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] upon it; and all were clearly of opinion that the scheme was broken, and that there could in such a divided state, be no hope of success: so I determined by their joint advice, to stop short in the matter and proceed no farther.* However I thought it of moment that the Clans should be fully informed of all the steps you had taken and preparations you had made towards assisting

of his friends in England, which resulted in letters patent being issued, bearing date July 12, 1726, by which he was discharged from imprisonment or the execution of his person; and he subsequently obtained a grant of the arrears of feu-duties due to the crown out of his forfeited estate.

* This course was approved of by James. Hay in his communication of the 18th of July, 1725, after mentioning the little chance there appeared of any immediate assistance from Russia, observes, in reference to Atterbury's proceedings at Paris, "In this situation the resolution you have taken, or rather which My Lord Seafort's conduct obliged you to take, is certainly right. The King has received a letter from Sir Hector and Lochyel, but Lord Seafort has not write anything."

Both Lochiell and Sir Hector acquiesced in the view taken by Atterbury of the affair as it now stood, and considered it unsafe to procced any further at present with the scheme. Their letter to the Pretender (mentioned above) is now in the collection, and bears the same date with this of the Bishop; but Lord Seafort did not write till the 17th, which will account for the observation above, respecting him. With his letter to the Bishop, Hay also forwarded one from James to Locheill and Sir Hector Macleane, regarding which he says, "You'll find here enclosed a letter from the King to the other two, to whom the King desires you would say all that is kind, in his name, on their becoming behaviour on this occasion." The joint letter of Locheill and Sir Hector Macleane, together with the one which Lord Seafort wrote to the Chevalier, and James' replies, will be found in the APPENDIX, page 164.

them, as soon as ever you was advised of the true state of things, that somebody should go to this purpose, and in order to bring back to you accounts of the true posture of affairs there, and of the consequences with which this Disarming Act would be attended, that so you might proceed upon sure grounds in whatever step you should afterwards think fit to take towards retrieving the game. Cameron* was very willing to go on this errand, as he is every way the best qualified for it on the account both of

* Allan Cameron, the brother of Locheill, is the person here intended. He left Rome on the 17th of June, 1725, (as appears from his own journal) — arrived in Paris on the 28th of the same month — sailed from Havre on the night of the 24th of July — and arrived at Tobir Morey Bay, in the Isle of Mull, August 14th, O. S., on the evening of which day he landed at a place he calls the "point of Morvine." He left Rome furnished with Instructions, signed by James and Lord Inverness, to repair to the Highlands of Scotland, and communicate the contents of a certain letter, which he also carried with him from Rome, addressed "To the Noblemen and Gentlemen, Chiefs of the Clans in the Highlands of Scotland." The original of this Letter, entirely in the Chevalier's own handwriting, is now in the collection, and its presence there indicates that it was not made use of; indeed, from the manner in which it was drawn up, it became useless, after the scheme to which it related had been abandoned through Lord Seafort's conduct; and being thus rendered unavailable, it must have been returned by Atterbury with the other letters mentioned further on. The original document, containing Cameron's Instructions, appears also to have been returned at the same time: this is easily accounted for by what Atterbury here mentions of their being committed to memory to avoid the necessity of such papers as these being carried with him.

James quite approved of Atterbury's arrangements regarding Mr. Cameron. In his letter of the 18th of July, he observes on this point, "I was always affraid we should not [be] able now to do anything for the Highlanders release, and as matters stand it was manifestly impracticable; you have done well, however, to send Allen Cameron to them. In my situation, one must often risk the takeing some trouble in vain; but I hope that will not allways be the case, and success at last will sufficiently recompence past disappointments."

The Letter which Cameron was to have communicated to the Clans, together with his own Instructions, will be found in the APPENDIX, page 176.

his perfect knowledge of men and matters, and of his coming directly to them from yourself; to which purpose I shall venture to give him instructions according to the powers you were pleased to send: which instructions he is well to digest and to commit to memory without producing them; it being neither safe, as things may stand, or necessary, to carry any Paper along with him.

I am sensibly concerned, Sir, that you should have so much trouble in despatching all those Letters and Papers without effect. I wait for your orders to return all of them;* though the Commissions may remain here with the others that are blank, and be under the same custody; and the Letters being general, were they not dated, might many of them, be of use on a like occasion. As to money sent, I find upon discourse with Waters, that no draught being actually made, there will nothing be lost on that account. I send back the two orders I received, and most thankfully acknowledge the confidence of all kinds you have been pleased to lodge in me on this occasion; which, you may depend upon it, Sir, I should never have misused. But it grieves me to find that when I am so much trusted, I should be so little able to do service.

Jamieson's [Duke of Ormonde] letter† contains other

* Of these letters, the whole of which are in the Chevalier's own handwriting, there are now thirty-two in the collection. They are all dated from Albano between the 12th and the 16th of June, and are addressed to the Chiefs of the Clans and some of the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in Scotland. They have all flying seals attached to them, in which state they were forwarded to Atterbury in one of Hay's letters, dated June 16, 1725.

† This passage will receive some elucidation from one of Hay's letters to Atterbury of the 16th of June; where, in reference to the question which of all others then engaged the attention of James and his agents, he says, "The King foresees the greatest advantages may follow on the orders he sends you on this occasion, and impowers you to give; and is perswaded you will give in such a manner as that the least disadvantage

business besides that relating to Talby [Scotland]; and therefore I will send it to him as soon as I can do it safely (it be all written out of cypher) and hope to be able so to do [by] 1816 [the Pope's] Falconer [Minister].

Since I found Lord Seafort in such a state of mind, I did not think myself at liberty to promise him, particularly in your name, what he had asked;* but only left with him a general assurance of your favour, and desire to gratify him in all his requests, upon a proper occasion.

I have heard nothing of the Duke of Wharton, and being not ready to give the signal for any one's coming over

possible may follow upon them, should matters not take so favorable a turn as he has reason to expect. His Majesty will send out of hand his orders to Muscovy, to press as much as possible, assistance from that quarter; and desires that you would write to the Duke of Ormonde to act the same part in Spain; since the Duke will receive your letters much sooner than he can from hence, and you are more able by your situation to furnish him with the proper arguments to be used with that King; and I am hopeful that the Court of France may be prevailed upon not to obstruct anything the King may do at present for the support of the Highlanders."

* The title of Duke. We arrive at this fact by a passage in Hay's letter of the 16th of June. "The King," he writes to Atterbury, "allows you to promise to Lord Seafort, in his name, a patent of Duke, to be given him att a proper occasion, in case you find that he deserves that new mark of His Majesty's favour, by a hearty concurrence in what may be for the good of his own country, and his own Following in particular; and should he himself be backward, and not enter heartily into measures, many of his name will even without him." James acknowledged the receipt of the present letter on the 18th of July, and the communication he then forwarded, besides conveying an approval of Atterbury's conduct in this particular, corroborates the opinion given in the first note, relative to its real date. He begins by observing, "I have received yours of the 2d of July, and a joint letter from Sir Hector Macleane and Locheill, to which you will here find my answer;" and then adds, "Lord Seafort hath not yet writ to me. You did very well not to make him any promise in my name. His present behaviour doth certainly not deserve it, tho' on account of future services he may render, he must not either be dispirited."

hither, have consequently seen nobody. I refer myself for other matters, to Lumnsden's [Hay] letter, and am, Sir,

Your most obedient
and ever faithful Servant.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester to the King, July 2nd, 1725."

XLIV.

To the Duke of Wharton.

July 9, 1725.

Venisti tandem? tuaque expectata J——bo
Vicit Iter durum Pietas? dabiturne tueri
Ora tua, et notas audire, ac reddere voces?
Sic equidem ducebam animo, rebarque futurum,
Tempora dinumerans. Da dextræ jungere dextram,
Da cupido, Teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro.
Admiranda tibi haud levium spectacula rerum
Evolvam lætus, totiusque ordine gentis
Consilia, et studia, et mores, et prælia dicam,
Et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem.

Endorsed [by the Duke of Wharton] "Bishop of Rochester, July y^e^ 9th, 1725."

[Atterbury was fully aware by information forwarded from Rome, of the contemplated journey of the Duke of Wharton, who, according to Hay, had "only waited for the King's leave to bring him abroad." Even so late as the 4th of July, when writing to the Bishop, he touches again on this point, and says in reference to it, "I am not much surprized that the Duke of Wharton's journey, in general, should be talked of, for I believe he made no secret at home of his designe of going abroad; but it would

be remarkable, if his particular views were. I scarce believe any pains can be taken with him, will hinder his seeing you. His zeal won't allow any insinuations to hinder him from it, and I wish his prudence may be as great in concealing what passes betwixt you; since some of those, who wish him best, are apprehensive that his foible lyes that way."

The Duke's arrival at Paris was, therefore, anxiously expected by Atterbury, and his disappointment at not seeing him, appears to have been extreme. It was, however, fortunate for his own peace, that he was completely ignorant of the real cause of the Duke's absence, and had no suspicion that it was premeditated, and that he purposely avoided the interview at this particular juncture; — the reasons for which the Reader will find in the extract from His Grace's letter in the note on page 220.

From a letter which Hay addressed to Atterbury on the 25th of July, 1725, it appears that on the day the Bishop dated the above lines, he also despatched two letters to Rome; for their receipt is then acknowledged. These have not been discovered, but it seems certain, from Hay's reply, that they must have contained some expression of regret at not having seen the Duke. Hay was, however probably, by this time in possession of his Grace's real motives for not visiting Paris (as the Duke's letter of the 4th of July might then have reached Rome) and, therefore, in reference to this point, he then merely observes, "that it was certainly very unlucky that the Duke of Wharton did not pass by Paris;" and endeavours to console the Bishop by enclosing a cypher, which he says will make up the loss as much as possible, by enabling him to correspond safely with the Duke.

The above letter, if such it may be called, has no address, but merely the initials D. W. in place of one; and there might, perhaps, have existed some doubt as to the

real person for whom it was intended, had not the Duke placed it in an envelope and endorsed it himself.

These letters to the Duke of Wharton, appear to have come into James' possession with many other Papers relating to his affairs, on the Duke's death.]

XLV.

To the Duke of Wharton.

My Lord, *July* 11, 1725.

I had heard of your arrival in Holland, before I received your letter from thence; and had writ to you thither, under the same cover, which conveyed yours to me. If you have left directions with the gentleman,* how to forward anything of that kind, you will find how impatient I was to have seen you, and discoursed you about the sum of affairs, being encouraged to hope for such a meeting by him, from whom you received your instructions at your landing on this side. I am persuaded, we might have met undiscovered, at a distance from this place; and that such a conference would have been of some use, before you went on, upon your intended journey.†

* It seems, from the tenor of several portions of the correspondence, that the gentleman here alluded to, was James Hamilton, who met the Duke on his arrival at Rotterdam, which took place about the 1st of July. On the fourth, the Duke wrote to the Chevalier, announcing his arrival in Holland, and on the 13th he forwarded another letter to James from Frankfort, in which he informs him, that he had "settled a correspondence with your Majesty's friends; and my letters are to be sent to Dr. Paterson at Rotterdam, who transmits them to James Hamilton."

† It was certainly James's wish that the Duke before he proceeded to Vienna, should go to Paris and receive instructions from Atterbury. But notwithstanding the hopes which the Bishop (as here intimated) was led to

Since I have missed that opportunity, and all the pleasure I promised myself from it, I must do what I can to re-

entertain of such an interview, and the earnestness with which he himself desired it, it is put beyond doubt by the Duke's own avowal, that he did not contemplate such a journey at this juncture, for the strong and urgent reasons which he gives in his two letters to James, dated respectively July 4 and 13. The first of these he wrote from Rotterdam, a day or two after his landing, and in reference to this point he says, "I must with great humility beg leave to represent to your Majesty the great difficultys under which I labour as to my going to Paris at present. It is certain that nothing should hinder me from waiting on the Bishop of Rochester, were your Majesty's commands to me positive. I begg that you will believe me attach'd to no person but to yourself. Your Majesty in this case onely suggests it as your own opinion that it would be of consequence if I did. Upon which I beg leave with the greatest submission to represent that it will be impossible for me to take that step, but it must be known; for the spys of the court are all paid to give that kind of intelligence, and how far it may be for your Majesty's interest that such an interview should be known to the English Ministry, before I had been at the Court of Vienna, I leave your Majesty to judge. I conceive it would be of apparent ill consequence; might allarm the enemy; and prove ev'n an obstacle to the other part of my negociations. There is one reason more which I hope will have some weight with your Majesty, which is, that L. Leah [Lord Orrery] and the rest of those I before mentioned, never have entrusted me with any correspondence between them and the Bishop of Rochester, so that I should not be at liberty to make use of their names to him without betraying of private confidence; and should I avoid telling the Bishop of Rochester every thing of the English affairs and the names of every person concern'd in Your Majesty's busyness on that side the water, it would create a fatal jealousy between the Bishop and those others whom I have before mentioned. I hope and beg that for these reasons, I may be excus'd at this juncture, going to Paris; but if Your Majesty should think it necessary, and lay your commands upon me to that effect, nothing shall hinder me from obeying of them punctually and honestly. For fear I should be wanting in any thing that may conduce to your Majesty's service, I have by this post wrote to the Bishop of Rochester and desired his instructions to be sent to me at Vienna, and a cypher for our future correspondence, which packet must be arrived there before I possibly can." A few days afterwards he forwarded from Frankfort his next letter, dated July 13, in which he again touches upon his journey to Paris, and gives some other reasons for avoiding an interview then with Atterbury. "I am under," he observes, "the greatest uneasyness lest I should have incurr'd Your Majesty's displeasure in my not going to Paris; but I can assure Your Majesty that

trieve the misfortune, by fixing a sure and secret correspondence. Till that is done, and a cypher transmitted to you after a secure manner, I dare not write to you with freedom. I am labouring to settle such a method, and hope I shall be able to do it in a very few days. In the mean time, I make use of the address you send me, and shall be glad to hear this reaches you by the means of it; I wish it may, since the direction is so general.* I must put your own name on the back of this letter: hereafter, you will give me some other, to be made use of on such occasions. The way in which you directed to me, may be made use of, till I furnish you with a better.

there are many reasons, not of my own, which prevented my taking of that step. For my part I freely own, I thought it right, but I fear, from what I know, and from what fell from Mr. Zenks [James Hamilton] in a discourse on that subject, that had I waited on the Bishop of Rochester, it would have made such a breach between some persons in England, which, for ought I know, might have ended in their breaking off their correspondence with me. I could not write to your Majesty so freely upon this affair from Rotterdam, for a reason which you will easily suggest, but was forct to give your Majesty the sence of others; not my own. I hope your Majesty will not mention to any person whatsoever this manner in which I have open'd my conduct in that affair; but I thought it my duty to explain myself thus far, being attacht to no person or party, but your Majesty and the Cause."

* This letter was certainly written with the intention of being delivered to the Duke on his arrival at Vienna; and is the one alluded to in a communication which Thomas Sheridan forwarded to Hay on the 4th of August. "I had almost forgot," observes Sheridan "to tell you that there has happened a mischance to the Duke of Wharton, which ought to be a warning to him and make him more cautious for the future. Upon his arrival in Holland, he wrote to the Bishop of Rochester, and desired him to direct his answer to me at Vienna, without any other cover. At his arrival here he enquired of Warren [Tho. Sheridan] for such a letter. Warren sent to see, but could meet with none. A week after there came one under cover to the Nuncio, by which it appears there had been one written and directed as above. I went myself to the Post House, but to no purpose. They would not own the receipt of any such, and whether it was taken up at Paris or Vienna I know not: but lost it is, and what makes it the worse is, that it was written without cypher, there being none as yet settled between the Duke and the Bishop"

You are my Lord, in a place * which will give you an occasion of exerting all your talents for the public good. 'Tis the very spot of business at this critical juncture. On the measures that shall be taken there, our hopes at present chiefly depend. The great point is, to set things in such a light, that those you deal with, shall be convinced of the facility of what you propose: for as to its usefulness, in respect to them, they themselves will, and must be the only judges. But I forbear, and conclude with assurances that there is not a man in the world that loves and honours you more, or is with a more sincere respect,

My Lord, your ever faithful
and obedient servant.

Endorsed [by Sir John Græme] "July 11th, 1725."

XLVI.

SIR, *Paris, July*, 16, 1725.

I doubt not but you have understood the Duke of Wharton's motions,† otherwise than by the letter of which

The first intimation of this letter having been written was, therefore, derived from the one which the Bishop wrote on the 17th of the same month (No. XLVIII.) and forwarded to Vienna through the medium of the Pope's Nuncio at Paris. At this period Atterbury was himself ignorant of its fate; for it appears to have been only a short time previously to writing his next letter to the Duke (No. LV.) that he received it back from the French Post-Office, which it had never left; and thus recovered, he enclosed it in the one he forwarded on the 26th of August.

* This passage very clearly indicates that the letter was intended to reach the Duke on his arrival at Vienna, for that is the place here alluded to. It was only for the sake of this portion of it that Atterbury forwarded the whole letter, after recovering it from the French Post-Office.

† James certainly had a full knowledge not only of the Duke of Wharton's

I transmitted a copy to you by the last post; and have made use of that notice, to lodge such further instructions at Vienna, as may meet him at his arrival there, and qualify him to do all the service which his heart is bent upon rendering you. There could not be a more critical and lucky moment for his journey; which must turn to account one way or another. For either he will give that court those lights, which are sufficient to fix them in their good intentions towards you; or able, at least, to give you sure accounts how far they are, or are not, to be depended on: which itself is, in this case, (and, indeed, in all cases) no immaterial service. He has all the talents requisite to dive into the intentions of those he deals with; and an

intended absence from England, but also of his different movements, from the period of his landing in Holland till his arrival at Vienna.

The Duke wrote to the Chevalier on the 3rd of March, and again on the 1st of May, relative to his then contemplated journey. The first of these letters has not been found; but an expression in the other fully corroborates Hay's assertion that "he had waited only for the King's leave to bring him abroad," for he observes, "I propose as soon as I have Your Majesty's leave, to go abroad for some time, but shall not stir in that or any other point of life without waiting for your commands."

James replied on the 28th of April to the Duke's letter, dated March 3, 1725, observing in respect to the proposed journey, "I take it as a new instance of your zeal for me and the cause, your consulting me about the journey you propose to make. You may be sure I should at all times be very tender in obstructing any thing you may think for your private advantage, which I shall always earnestly desire to promote; but at this juncture I really do not see any inconvenience in your leaving England, provided I know how to write to you when you are abroad, when you may certainly do much good to the cause:" and in his answer to this letter the Duke assures James (May 20, 1725,) that "It lays me under the strictest tys of gratitude to your Majesty to find your most gracious disposition towards me; and the being ready to sacrifice my life and fortune is the onely return I can at present make."

This may be sufficient to prove the entire cognizance James had of the Duke's intended journey: and how entirely he must have "understood his motions," since his departure from England, may be seen by what is said in the note on page 219, and in that which follows.

extraordinary degree of application, when he pleases, and is intent upon compassing any point.* He will be at a distance from all that company which misled him sometimes into frolics at home; and will, I hope, have no starts of that kind in a foreign country and a grave court; especially when he has aims of such importance in his view, as those which at present possess him. If this proves the case (as I flatter myself it will) he will be useful to you, Sir, beyond what you could expect from his age and experience. You will soon have opportunities of knowing how he conducts himself and your affairs, as far as he is apprized of them: and will be pleased to let him into your confidence, in proportion to the use you find he makes of it.

Of domestic matters he is sufficiently informed, and can give a satisfactory account of them. If they hearken to him on that head, they may be disposed to hear him reason

* The Duke appears to have applied himself in good earnest "to the busyness which he was to transact at Vienna." On the 28th of July he addressed a letter to James from that capital, minutely detailing his movements from his first arrival there on Monday the 23rd of that month. By this we find that the following day was occupied in seeking for Thomas Sheridan, one of James's agents then residing at Vienna; and in writing to M. St. Saphorin, the English Ambassador, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to desire that he would introduce him to the Emperor and other persons of distinction. From this minister, whom the Duke designates "a cunning intreaguing fellow," but who appears to have had no suspicion of the real motive of the Duke's visit, he immediately, though it was late at night, received a visit. On Wednesday night, in order to make himself acquainted with the different views and attachments of the Emperor's ministers, he went privately, with Mr. Sheridan, to the house of the Nuncio, who could instruct him fully on this head, and with whom he remained two hours, and opened to him the situation of affairs at home, and the errand that had brought him to Vienna: and before a month had elapsed, he had submitted to Count Zinzendorf a Memorial, "consisting of above twenty sides of paper, and containing the reasons that he thought most proper to induce the Emperor to do what he ought to think his duty." Indeed both his own correspondence and that of Sir John Græme will prove that, during his stay at Vienna, he was certainly indefatigable in the cause he advocated.

on other matters which have a near relation to England — particularly one; upon which, give me leave to explain my thoughts; because (if approved) you may possibly find some occasion to make use of them. One of Guthry's [the Emperor's] favourite views seems to be to promote the trade of his two new companies, particularly that of Ostend, which it is, I think, evident that Garroway [England] and 1363 [Holland] in conjunction, have secretly agreed to ruin, without coming to any open rupture with Guthry. Their way of doing it will be (and has already been) by discountenancing and distressing those new venturers in the Indies, where the Dutch and English have all the power, and a great influence on the natives. Nothing but such a tacit agreement can account for the present friendship between England and Holland, notwithstanding the assurances given to the latter by the former, of their assistance towards stifling that trade in its birth; which they have no otherwise made good, than by joining with them in measures to destroy the factories and ships of the Ostenders in the Indies, while they seem to give them no disturbance at home. Guthry's Falconers [the Emperor's Ministers] if they do not as yet see this, may be made to see it, and to perceive plainly, that nothing but your establishment on the throne, can secure a share of that trade to the Flemings. Nor are there any good objections against your encouraging them in this respect; since the Dutch, which you will then have no need to manage, will be the chief losers in the case; and it will be always better for England, that that part of the Indian trade, which it cannot carry on itself, should be divided between the Dutch and Flemings, than entirely engrossed by the former.

I mention this, as a matter perhaps not much attended to; which yet is of some weight. Other advantages there are, which Guthry may justly propose to himself from a Restor-

ation; but being obvious, I need not explain them: though if the Duke of Wharton be well received and listened to, it is fit he should be prepared on those heads, and may soon be instructed from Rome, in relation to them.* I have, I think, settled a correspondence with him, through the Nuncios here and at Vienna, which will be liable to no accidents; and shall make use of it, the best that I can, towards doing him and the cause, service.

I question not but he will find a way of waiting upon you at Vanburn † [Rome] and may possibly, if not restrained, be less upon his guard in that case than he should be. For he must always act upon a view of returning home, where, though he may at this juncture be of great service abroad, yet his admirable talents will always be of most use; and he ought not therefore, in my humble opinion, to do anything which may render his return absolutely impracticable.‡ I enter not into any other matter

* This subject, whether it had been previously thought of by James, or whether he only acted on the hint here given, was certainly brought under the notice of Cardinal Cienfuegos, the Emperor's Minister at Rome. James himself states this in his letter of the 8th of August, wherein he tells the Bishop "I like very well your reflections on the Ostende trade; something on that head hath been already dropt to Cardinal Cienfuegos," and then in reference to the Duke of Wharton and his mission, adds "I shall prepare him on this particular article in due time."

† James did not entertain the same opinion on this point as the Bishop; and in the letter he wrote to him on the 8th of August, says in reference to it "It is certainly of importance he [the Duke of Wharton] should keep from the public his good intentions towards me, and on that account I am persuaded he hath no thoughts of coming here." The Duke, however, certainly did entertain such a wish, for he concludes his letter to the Chevalier of the 28th of July, by expressing a hope that he may receive His Majesty's leave, in case of any extraordinary event, to wait on him at Rome, which, he observes, he can do privately.

‡ It will be needless to enter, here, into any discussion on the instability of the Duke of Wharton's character and the utter recklessness of his disposition. These are now well known matters of history and may be passed by. It may not, however, be irrelevant to observe that, although James

at present, but what relates to him and the court of Vienna, because I see not as yet, anything rising elsewhere that gives immediate hopes; though the affair of the North seems still to have some degree of life in it; and the new particulars relating to it, which Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] will send by this post, give us still reason to expect a blow from that quarter.*

I am extremely concerned, Sir, that, in regard to the

seemed to be quite alive to the importance of attaching a person of the Duke's rank and talents to his cause, he could never, entirely, free himself from certain misgivings which the Duke's well known habits had generally produced. Hay in a great measure, shared these feelings with the Chevalier, and, however he may attempt to disguise it, it is but too apparent that Atterbury himself was not altogether free from fear on this point. It would appear from a passage in one of Hay's letters to the Bishop (July 25, 1725), that the Duke had not, at first, contemplated any very prolonged absence from England, (at least he wished it so to be understood); and it is curious to observe the extreme complacency with which James' Secretary hints at the probability, that a consideration of the use he might be to the Chevalier and his cause, might have induced the Duke to alter his original determination. "One expression," he observes, "in the Duke of Wharton's letter, was new to the King, that he does not design to return soon to England; for he had represented to His Majesty that he was to be absent only for some months: but I suppose circumstances in his own private affairs, compared with the use he may be of to the King, will determine him as to that."

* There was little in O'Brien's letter to cause any one to believe that, so far as the Chevalier and his interests were concerned, the affair of the North seemed still to have some life in it. The portion of his letter referring to this particular subject, consists of about a dozen lines of information he had derived from the Duke of Holstein's Envoy at Paris, who showed a letter he had received from Hamburgh, by which it appeared that on the 19th of June, the Russian fleet was waiting only for a fair wind to sail from Cronstadt; and that Vice Admiral Gordon was second in command under Admiral Apraxin. And yet by the 8th of the following August, we may suppose that James had cause to be more satisfied with his prospects in that quarter, for he then writes to Atterbury, "By my accounts from the North I perceive the Czarine was willing to hear my proposals, and that the fleet was not like to undertake any thing this year; all which will afford time both for negociation and execution against the next; and I own I never had but [illegible] in general."

Highland affair, you should have given yourself so much trouble to so little purpose. However I hope, the full informations that Cameron carries, will be of use to preserve them faithful, and to make them as easy as they can be in their circumstances; and will also afford you such lights at his return, as may be very serviceable. I wait your orders for sending back any of the Papers, or all of them, by him, or by any other hand, to which I shall be directed.

If Norton [General Dillon] upon delivering up some part of what was required, should write to you in such a manner, as that you shall think fit to make any answer, you will be pleased, Sir, to consider, whether he may not be put in mind of complying in the point of the Cyphers (of which I stand in great need) and of the other Forms, and printed Papers in his custody, and be told also that the state of his Accounts is expected without delay. He has now perfectly recovered his health, and has now nothing on that head, to plead for his dilatoriness. When Mr. Inese asks him now for these things at St. Germains, he says they are at Paris.*

I hope I have not done wrong in keeping back the first letter to the Clans; and am the more persuaded that I have not, because I find Lord Seafort still so desirous that, at least, the contents of that letter may be notified to him in form; doubtless, with some view of making use of it.

* James in the letter quoted in the preceding note states that "Dillon hath no cyphers which could be now of use to you, or the want of which can be of prejudice to me. I see no appearance of his complying any further with my orders. They were peremptory enough before, and could only be repeated; and if he be not touched with his own honour, he will be it yet less with new orders. It will take up time to examine his letters for some years past, and when that is done I shall see what further is required according to the consequence of the Papers he may have still in his custody." The reader is referred to the APPENDIX, page 115, for other information on this subject

The other two are perfectly well satisfied with what I have done, and approve the grounds on which I acted, in not imparting it. Nor do I doubt of his coming to reason in a little time, as soon as he feels the ill success of his past conduct, and present transactions. I believe he is, at this moment, more out of humour with himself, than any body else: This I find by some overtures he has made me by young Semple. I shall watch and improve all opportunities of bringing him to temper. In the mean time, Sir, it will be a satisfaction to me, to find, I did not err in forbearing to signify to him your compliance with his request; since you gave me leave only to do it, upon the supposition of a compliance also on his part; which I did not meet with, and therefore thought not myself at liberty to make use of the power you had given me. And indeed I am of opinion, that his extorting such a favor at that point of time, when he was acting such a part, would have rendered him more intractable for the future.* I am sur-

* Lord Seafort, it has been seen, did not write to Rome concerning the conference between Atterbury and the heads of the Clans at Paris, till the 17th of July. The letter he then sent to the Chevalier is given in the APPENDIX, page 166, together with James' answer; this latter the Chevalier forwarded to Atterbury in his communication of the 8th of August: and he therein tells the Bishop, "I now send you a coppy of my letter to Lord Seafort, with the original for you to deliver or gett delivered, as you find most convenient. It is in reply to a long and an odd letter I had from him, and by which I do not find he is in those dispositions you were informed. I approve entirely your conduct towards him, and I hope he will be convinced by my letter, that he doth not take the way either to please me or serve me."

It has been shown in the note on page 211, that Hay, in his letter to the Bishop, dated July 18, 1725, conveyed to him James' approval of his conduct in regard to the non-delivery of the first letter to the Clans: and he then also further informed him "that His Majesty is resolved to follow your advice as to his future behaviour towards him (Lord Seafort); of whom you'll be better able to judge, if he opens himself to you in the manner he promises to do." In his communication of the 25th of the same month, he again calls the Bishop's attention to the same subject, by

prized at Lord Islay's late journey to Holland, and am apt to think, it related to some correspondence he was managing on this side with regard to the Highlands.

I am,
Sir,
Your ever obedient
and most faithful Servant.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rochester to the King, July 16th, 1725."

XLVII.

To the Hon. John Hay

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *July* 16, 1725.

The former part of your letter of June 27, I shall (consistently with what I have resolved) pass over; expressing only my wishes and hopes, that care may be taken to prevent such needless and groundless appeals for the future; which will breed just suspicions and disunion here, and uneasiness both here and elsewhere, and overturn a confidence, necessary towards carrying on Mercer's [the King's] affairs with success; at least while I have the honor to be employed in them.*

observing, "You will have seen by my last, that the King approved of every part of your conduct with Lord Seafort, but I don't find he had yet explain'd himself freely to you as he promised to do; and the King longs to know the motives for his conduct. I think Lord Seafort ought to discover to you, if he can, how My Lord Mar came to the knowledge of what past betwixt you and him, as a public service done the King; and at the same time reflect how much he is to blame to give the Duke of Mar an opportunity of rejoycing upon any such occasion."

* The part of Hay's letter which the Bishop here passes over, was that

I meet with difficulties enow from those who are laid aside; and (at my age, and in my ill state of health, and circumstances) need no new ones to exercise my patience. And indeed, Sir, (to speak my mind once for all) unless I can be perfectly secure of a strict harmony and openness between me and those I am to act with, and can depend upon their good offices and friendship in every case, (even where we may happen to differ a little in our judgements of men or things) the state I shall be in, will be too uncomfortable for me not to wish myself out of it as soon as is possible. My case is particular; I live within doors, under various disadvantages, and must judge as well as I can upon the informations that are brought me. If I err, yet my mistakes, I think, should not be exaggerated or made matter of complaint, but either covered in silence or treated with tenderness. If my heart and my head, such as it is, are (as they certainly are) entirely engaged in the service, the more easy that is made to me, the more useful I shall be: and it can never be made easy to me, while any one, that is to join with me in it, thinks it proper to write any thing of me which is not proper to be shewn me. I am sensible, your station and character entitle you to know every thing that is for Mercer's service: but things sometimes happen (among those, of whose good affections there can be no doubt) which it is for his service that you should not know: and you yourself, Sir, seem to be of this opinion by what you were pleased in your last letter* to write to me. And therefore I am the

which contained the expression of his satisfaction at the termination of the differences between Atterbury and Murray. The whole passage will be found on page 158, of the APPENDIX.

* The peculiar turn of the expression here used might cause a doubt, whether it had reference to Hay's letter of the 27th (to which this of Atterbury is an answer) or to one of a subsequent date, were it not for the allusion to a passage in the extract mentioned in the preceding note, in which Hay expresses a hope that the King will not blame him for not having too

freer in opening myself to you, as I think your sentiments do not clash with mine on this article; and am persuaded, I shall have your friendly assistance towards checking any attempts of the same kind for the future; which is all I aim at, and for which I shall make you all the returns of respect and gratitude that are in my power. I have done with this subject, and apply myself to what is contained in the last part of your letter.

The Chevalier has that for Dagget [the Bishop of Fréjus]. He and his father are extremely thankful for the favor of Mercer's recommendation.* I find the Chevalier has scarce any English at all; which makes it a little difficult for me to converse with him, or employ him in any thing, where it will be requisite he should have previous and punctual instructions. And yet I like his spirit and turn so well, that I wish, I could find out some way of rendering him (what he above all things desires to be) serviceable to Mercer.† But he is soon going to his regiment.

forward in informing him of the particulars of that disagreeable affair; that is, the quarrel between Atterbury and Murray; which clearly points out that of the 27th of June, 1725.

* There is a passage in Hay's letter of the 27th relating to this subject. He there tells the Bishop "You'll find here a letter of recommendation from the King to the Bishop of Fréjus, which His Majesty could not refuse Chevalier Geraldin, tho' he does not much care to do those things often, yet His Majesty would have you to deliver it either to the father or the son; and be so kind as to inform the last that, as soon as I can get the letter from Cardinal Paulucci to the Nuntio, I shall send it him."

† Atterbury must have touched upon this point in his (missing) letter of the 9th of July, for Hay in the one he forwarded to the Bishop on the 25th of that month acknowledging its receipt, observes "I am very glad you have so good an opinion of the Chevalier. May not it be convenient even as matters stand, to send him for sometime to Vienna? He can take a cup with the Duke, and perhaps divert him from any excess, which I take to be the Duke of Wharton's greatest failing; who, if any ways imprudent in his cups, will find people enough in that country, ready to ply him that way, and to take advantage of it by misrepresenting him to the Emperor who has an aversion to people that are addicted to too much drinking."

I have heard nothing from Radclyff, since I sent him his letter, though I suppose, his request, with relation to the future christening, was complied with. He will I apprehend, be with me soon; and then I will insinuate what you would have said to him, as dextrously as I can.*

I wonder not at the manner of Dunbar's [France] treating Everton [the Pope] after the point was secured for Garroway [England]; since that is the interposition of a professed friend: and, if admitted, is likely to prove of ten times more service to Sussex [the Duke of Bourbon] than the other: though it is hard to conceive how Thrumb [Spain] should admit of it, while matters of high consequence stand at the same time unadjusted between Thrumb and Garroway. My surprise is the greater in this case, as I am satisfied, Thrumb would never have accepted the offer without Guthry's [the Emperor's] consent: and how that consists with what 929 [Cardinal Cienfuegos] represents, I do not see; unless it be an amusement to cover deeper designs. A little time (and time only) will explain this riddle.†

* The Reader is referred to the note on page 200 for Mr. Charles Radclyffe's letter to the Chevalier, containing the request relative to the christening of his expected child. That Letter was answered on the 20th of June, 1725, by Hay, who stated that "The King orders me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to His Majesty of the 30th of May, and to assure you of the satisfaction Their Majesties have, in knowing that my Lady Newburgh is in a fair way of giving you issue. The King and Queen wish her a happy delivery, and are very much satisfied that you should make use of their name in appointing the person you may think proper to stand for them as God-Father or God-Mother, according as the unborn child shall prove male or female." The subject on which Atterbury was to communicate with this gentleman, had reference to his uncle, Mr. Radclyffe, who appears, from some expressions in Hay's letter of the 20th of June, to have been then residing at Rome, and concerning whom Hay had not the most favourable opinion: in fact "he desired to have nothing to do with him," and this was what Atterbury was to insinuate to the nephew.

† It has been shown in the note on page 159, that the Duke of Bourbon was extremely desirous to make up the differences that had arisen between

The draughts of Mader's [the King of Spain's] Declaration, here handed about for some time, though written

the Governments of France and Spain, in consequence of the marriage contract between the Infanta and Louis XV. being annulled. In his endeavour to accomplish this, he solicited the intervention both of England and the Pope (an attempt was made, though in an underhand manner, to obtain even that of James); and having succeeded in securing the mediation of the former — the Pope seems to have been, at once and unceremoniously, cast aside; at which His Holiness, it would appear, was not a little indignant. In a letter addressed to the Bishop on the 27th of June, 1725, Hay observes, "We are informed here that Spain has accepted of the mediation of England, which France has sollicited. This the Pope takes amiss, after the strong instances France made to induce the Pope to engage himself in the affair, at the same time they were solliciting the mediation of England: and the King of Spain has lately declared to the Pope, that he has no design of making war against France. This does not look like the declaration of war you mention."

Murray refers to the above letter of Hay in one he wrote to him on the 16th of July, 1725, and thus gives his own opinion on this subject, "I find by the B[ishop] that you have writ to him that the King of Spain has accepted George's mediation and dropd the Pope's; as to the last article of which the Nuntio here is of another opinion. However, should that be the case: if the King of Spain be in the intention really to accommodate matters with France by that mediation, it is bad for Mr. Knight [the King], because he can expect no good from a Treaty directed by his enemies; and therefore he will naturally use his utmost endeavours to break the measures, by the Pope's interest at Madrid and his own: but this part would want to be acted with dexterity, that it may not come to the knowledge of the French, who would be able to resent it."

"I take it for granted that the Emperor has a great influence at present in the Spanish councils, and as I cannot conceive that it can be agreeable to his interest and views, to have these matters really accommodated, and particularly by George, I do not altogether believe the fact; and am of oppinion that if, at least, he was not sure that Silvester [the King of Spain] consented to this mediation purely to amuse France, he would apply himself either to prevent it, or to destroy the effects of it: so that it is to be hoped that Mr. Sweetman's [the King's] views and his, may point the same way as to this particular."

"If both Mr. Copinger [the Pope] and Mr. Miller [K. George] be mediators, which may perhaps be the state of the case for the present, by what the Nuntio told me, they are incompatible together; and therefore one of them must soon be droped."

skilfully by a man of sense, yet is a plain forgery. Jamieson [the Duke of Ormonde] has all along said in his letters, that there would be no rupture between Thrumb and Dunbar. To be sure there will be none soon. Whether there shall be any, hereafter, lies in the breast of Guthry, whose councils, I suppose, will govern in that particular: and these will be guided by his views of interest, after he has endeavoured, with or without success, to dissolve the present intimacy between Dunbar and Garroway.*

Everton's [the Pope's] reputation is so low, by reason of what has happened to him at home, that I expect not to see him interpose with any weight in any of the affairs of Europe: and on that account, as well as the other I mentioned, I suppose him to have been neglected by France.†

There is nothing from the North as yet, that may be depended on; and yet neither is it clear that the designs on

" I have already supposed the case of that affronts falling on Mr. Copinger; but if it should be the other's turn, that would be a victory indeed, and would put affairs in a channil that might produce an union between De la Valliere [the Duke of Bourbon] and Silvester [the King of Spain] in Mr. Leviston's [the King's] favour."

* " People here believe that Spain is noways inclined to make war, and the alarm the French court has taken may have been upon bad information: tho' I am persuaded if the Emperor will stand by the King of Spain, he cannot have a better opportunity of settling his affairs to his mind; and if he does not profit of it, he may happen to be the only dupe in all this affair. But time only can clear up all these matters." HAY to MURRAY, July 4, 1725.

† In the letter quoted in the preceeding note, Hay informs his brother-in-law, " You may depend on the Pope's not being capable of any thing but consecrating of churches and the like, and he has few people about him better than himself: and it is impossible to make them think of any thing that is honorable or great, were they capable to pursue it;" and Murray's reply to this observation was, " I am sorry, with all my heart, that so little is to be expected from the Pope's endeavours, because this is the first occasion that has happened for many years, where a Pope that was good for something might have done Mr. Sweetman [the King] eminent service."

that side are for this year laid aside. The Paris Gazette of Saturday last, in the article from Petersburg, seems still to apprehend them. Since nothing ripens so fast as was expected, either there or elsewhere, the supporting the Highlanders, in expectation of some foreign assistance, becomes the less necessary. Cameron will shew them that they have not been neglected, but that Mercer was ready to have done every thing in his power towards relieving them, if their own Heads had not thought other measures more advisable. He has now been several days at sea, as appears by a letter which he sent from Havre de Grace upon his embarking. Sir N. G. [Nicolas Geraldin] who undertook the preparing a ship, had given his instructions in so unpunctual a manner, that when C[ameron] came, he found not things ready to his mind, and was forced to wait some time, before he could accommodate himself with what was proper. The worthy honest man is grown old, and incapable, I find, of doing service on these occasions, in such a manner as may be depended on. 712 [Robert Arbuthnot] begins to want courage, or at least to abound more in prudence than he used to do; is almost always at a distance from hence; and when here, declines seeing me, though he is my banker.*

* Hay, seemingly in answer to something the Bishop had said in one of his preceding letters which has not been preserved, touches upon this subject and upon the disinclination shewn by some people to visit him, by observing in the one he forwarded on the 4th of July, "People's shyness of coming to see you may be prejudicial in some respects, but a great ease to you in others; and those who really wish the King well, when they know that you are particularly charged with communicating His Majesty's orders in case of the expedition in Scotlands going on, will, I am perswaded, lay aside their scruples on that score, in as far as the good of the service may require, and that the Duke of Mar's politique in encreasing these fears, will then have no effect. I am hopeful this will be Robin Arbuthnot's case. He is an old staunch man, and I am perswaded, incapable of making any bad use of any confidence that may be made him; but I need add no more on his subject than what I said by the Express. There is no forcing people to serve the

I want a good Cypher, and have neither time, patience, or health enough to frame it myself. Be pleased to let Mr. Foster have the enclosed, and to believe me,

Sir,

Your very faithful and obedient, &c.

King, and few will serve him that are not willing to risque something. It is that and many other circumstances that attend a Prince under misfortune, that renders his service more disagreeable to those that have more immediately the management of his affairs; and the more difficultys you meet with in them, the greater satisfaction it is to the King to find that you are no ways discouraged; but ready to overcome them all. I hope in God your endeavours shall meet with success, and that the present confusion affairs are in, shall produce, from some quarter or other, something agreeable."

In respect, particularly, to Robin Arbuthnot, we collect from one of Murray's letters to Hay (June 4, 1725) the reason of his shyness. "By what I can find," observes Mr. Murray, "the B[ishop] will employ nobody in such matters but Sir N. G. [Nicolas Geraldin] who, tho' he is the honestest man in the world, is a man of a very slow capacity, and as I'm afraid his credit is at present bad, people on the coast will not act so readily by his orders. I have done what I could by Daniel [O'Brien] to get the B[ishop] to employ Ar[buthno]t, and to consult him as to these matters,—but in vain. He is angry at A[rbuthno]t because he has visited him seldome, and says that as he keepes at a distance, it is not natural for him to deal with him. The state of this matter is, that A[rbuthno]t is employed by the South Sea Company in England to buy quantitys of linnen cloath in Normandy and Brittany, which is of considerable advantadge to him, which he would sacrifice with all his heart, if the K[ing]'s service required it; but not for the sake of visiting the B[ishop] frequently to no purpose. This he told him, but at the same time said that, if he had any business to do with him, he would come the moment he should send to him. But this he calls a coolness in the cause, and will not at all consider the inconveniences people may draw upon themselves by seeing him, nor have any manadgement for them in this respect. I have taken the liberty to tell him formerly, that those who saw the K[ing] obliged him the more, the more care they took that it should be of no prejudice to themselves, and that I thought he should judge in the same way: but he dos not taste this way of reasoning. In fine, as I have no vote in any thing that may be done or in the manner of doing it, I'm uneasie to think that, by being here, I may come in for a share of the blaim, if there is mismanadgement; and therefore I have thoughts to retire into the country, at least for some small time."

[P. S.] I wish to know, whether (as your letter seems to say) Mercer [the King] himself has had an interview with Cardinal Cienfuegos; and whether the first meeting between him and you, was at his seeking or yours; and how that new correspondence proceeds.*

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, July 16th, 1725."

XLVIII.

To the Duke of Wharton.

My Lord, *July* 17, 1725.

Upon the receipt of yours from Holland,† I wrote

* It would seem that this subject must have been mentioned in a previous letter, as Hay in one dated July 18, 1725, mentions it. By this we learn that the interview was first sought by Hay. "I have not heard," he tells the Bishop, "any thing yet of the consequences of my interview with Cardinal Cienfuegos [see note, page 205.] and it is only about this time that I expected it. I wait for it with impatience, and shall make use of all the art I am capable of, in executing the King's orders in that affair. It would have certainly look'd much better if he had sought our first interview, but that was not the case. However I don't despair of good coming from that quarter, and it will contribute very much to it if you can furnish me with some materials, by discovering the negociations betwixt France and England."

† Murray took an opportunity of giving his opinion on the Duke of Wharton's journey to Vienna, in a letter he wrote to Hay on the 16th of July, and in which he particularly mentions this which the Duke had written to Atterbury. "The B[ishop]" he observes, "shewed me tother day a mighty reasonable pretty letter from the Duke of Wharton, by which I find he is sett out for Vienna. I hope his representations may have some weight, but as his being there any time will be a thing of *éclat*, I'm of oppinion that Mr. Erlack [the Emperor] after hearing him, will desire him to retire from thence; and if he dos, I own, I would not conceive the less hopes of his intentions; because if they be favorable at bottom, it would be useful to conceal them; whereas if there was no such thing he might perhaps find it for his purpose by an *éclat* of that sort, to shew his whip to Mr. Miller [the Duke of Hannover]. I think the Duke of Wharton may do in a short time,

immediately to you, under Mr. Sheridan's cover, which was directed "A Monsieur Sheridan, gentilhomme Anglois, à Vienna:" I was (and am still) in doubt, whether that letter, with such a general direction, would reach you surely; and shall be in pain, till I hear you have it. In the mean time I am endeavouring to find out a surer channel by the Pope's Nuncio here, to the Nuncio at Vienna, who, I understand, is particularly acquainted with Mr. Sheridan; and, I hope, by that way to send you this very letter, and to fix it as the future method of our correspondence. Till that is done, and a Cypher also agreed on, nothing of consequence can be written on either side; the common post being not to be trusted.

I want to know an hundred things of you, and to impart also a few things to you, when both may be done with safety and freedom; and think it a great misfortune that I missed seeing you, which might easily have been compassed without observation, at a proper distance from Paris. But it is too late to think of retrieving that point. What remains, is to manage our present distance as well as we can, towards serving the Cause to which we are equal well-wishers. I shall do it on my side, as far as my health wil permit, with fidelity, industry, and pleasure; for as I have nothing in my view but to procure a R[estoratio]n, so there is no hand in the world which I more wish should be employed in it, and have a distinguishing share in the work, than your Grace's — acceptable to me on many accounts, and particularly with regard to the last parting acts of friendship which you shewed me, and for which I will make your Grace, while I live, all the returns in my power. The juncture is critical, no moments must be lost. A few weeks (nay days) as things now stand, may furnish the opportunity we want,

all the good he possibly can do there, and since a long stay might be lyable to other inconveniencys which I have already mentioned, I own, on all accounts, I should not be sorry if his affair took this turn.

if we are so happy as to lay hold of it, and improve it. And, in all probability, your Grace is on the very spot, from whence the first motions to our happiness must proceed; and will have it much in your power, both to procure them at first, and afterwards to influence and guide them. They want light into the true state of Affairs at home, and you, my Lord, can give it them; and consequently inspire them with courage to venture upon that, which they will think it their interest to attempt, if once they are convinced it is practicable. If they cannot dissolve the present intimacy between E[nglan]d and F[ranc]e by Treaty, they must do it by force, and by putting one at the head of things there, upon whose friendship they may more firmly depend. Their counsels seem at present to fluctuate on that head; it is reserved for you, I hope, to determine them: and in order to it, I am able to suggest motives of consequence, and such as they are likely to taste at this juncture. But I will not enter into that matter, till I am perfectly sure of my channel. You can, if I mistake not, write to Rome, and receive an answer from thence, in ten or twelve days; and I have written my mind thither fully on several occasions. You cannot fail of drawing from thence many of the lights you will want: and I am sure you will not fail of making a proper use of them. Go on, and prosper! —

Tuque dum procedis, Io triumphe,
Non semel dicemus, Io triumphe,
Civitas omnis: dabimusque Divis
Thura benignis.

[P. S.] No more at present beside professions of the sincerest respect, and entreaties that I may hear from you about the state of affairs both at home and abroad!

You may write to me by the same conveyance, addressing it under the name of Andrews to me, and putting a cover over to it, à Monsieur Murray, gentilhomme Ecos-

sois, à Paris. Mr. Sheridan is well acquainted with the Nuncio in your parts, through whose packet it will come by the Nuncio here to Mr. Murray, and by him to me.

What name shall I give you in my address to you for the future?

Endorsed [by Sir John Græme] "July 27th, 1725."

XLIX.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir,

You will pardon me if I only convey the enclosed to you this post, with an acknowledgment of my receiving your letter of July 4, which I will answer by the next conveyance — by which time I hope, the news Johnsonton's [Daniel O'Brien's] friend* seems to expect, will arrive and be the subject of all our reflections. At present all is quiet; and I have nothing material to add to what he has said.

Excuse my failing for once; and believe me to be ever with respect,

Sir,
Your most obedient
and faithful Servant.

July 23, 1725.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, July 23rd, 1725."

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* Le Baron de Cederhielm, the Duke of Holstein's Envoy at Paris, who was in daily expectation of receiving accounts of the sailing of the Russian fleet: nothing had however arrived by the time of the next conveyance (July 30) nor indeed on that which followed (Aug. 6): at which time the Envoy imagined that his letters had been intercepted; and O'Brien feared that no "grande chose" was to be hoped for, from that quarter, during this year.

L.

SIR, *July* 30, 1725.

Whatever inconveniences may attend the service here, by your withdrawing Finlay [Mr. Murray]; the education of the Prince is a point of so tender concern, that all other considerations, when they come in competition with it, ought to give way to it. I doubt not but he will employ all his diligence and zeal towards answering the ends you propose to yourself, by calling him to so important a trust; on the right discharge of which, the happiness of three kingdoms may hereafter depend. I wish him success in it with all my heart, and that he may satisfy both your expectations and those of your people that continue faithful to you, whose true interests are so closely united with yours, that they can never honestly or wisely be separated.*

* James had written to Mr. Murray on this subject early in the year (February 20, 1725), stating that, as his son was very forward both in mind and body, and of a very strong and healthy constitution, he should certainly put him into men's hands, in about a year; and "that being resolved to commit the care of him to none, but such as are not only fittly qualified for so great a trust, but personally known to me, I propose to make you his Governor; for it will be a great comfort and ease to me, to see him under the care of one who, I know, is wholely and solely devoted to me, and capable of instilling into him those maxims and principles which may make him now, a man of honnour and a good Son, and hereafter, a great King;" or, as he expresses himself in another of his letters (July 10), "I shall be impatient to have you here to make my son a true and good Englishman, which will, I am sure, be your constant endeavour, as it is my greatest desire."

The Extracts from the several Letters of Hay and Murray relating to this subject, will more aptly come in illustration of the Chevalier's own Correspondence, than here; and this note may therefore be concluded with a quotation from a letter which James sent to Atterbury, July 10, 1725, when, after referring to the then situation of affairs at the French Court — where little room was left for negociation — he informs him that these circumstances "hath inclined me the rather to delay no longer sending, as I do by this post, for Mr. Murray to come hither, to putt him about my Son as Governor, and pt the same time Tom: Sheridan for under Governor .... I am very

Of as little use as I have hitherto been in this place, I foresee, I shall now be of less: and it is well therefore that there will be little here to do, and that the scene of action will lie elsewhere, at least for some time, till France shall change its principles and measures.

In the mean time, a proposition has been made to me, which it becomes me to lay before you nakedly, in the manner I received it. The Duke de la Force, in conjunction with an Abbé here, that is a chief favourite of 1165 [the Bishop of Fréjus], has laid a scheme for engaging your interest to procure the Bishop of Fréjus a Cap, and they pretend certainly to know that your good offices in that respect will be welcome to him, since he despairs of obtaining it otherwise, till there be a general nomination for the Crowns: 841 [the Duke of Bourbon] manifestly traversing and defeating all his measures to that purpose. It is intimated to me (but not affirmed) that the Bishop of Fréjus himself is at the bottom of this proposition. Young Geraldine came first to me on this errand, and afterwards the Duke [de la Force] himself, who made great professions of his intention to serve you in this matter; and that this was his only view, without any regard to the interest of Dagget [the Bishop of Fréjus]. However, I perceived that he was a creature of 1776 [the Duke of Orleans], and thought that if a Cap could be procured for the Bishop of Fréjus, who has certainly Moreton's [King of France] affections; that advantage would release him

sensible you will not a little want Mr. Murray near yourself, but the motif of my sending for him will, I am sure, engage you not to regret his absence. My Son's education is of the greatest importance. I have it, with reason, much at heart to supply, as much as possible, his being bredd upp in a foreign country, by putting those about him, who, by their knowledge of our own, may be most capable of instilling into him those principles and notions, which may enable him to make our nation happy in him whenever he reigns over it. I wished to keep this matter a very great secret, till it be executed here, for several particular reasons; and shall say no more here on the subject, supposing Mr. Murray will shew you what I writ to him now upon it."

from his present dependence, and probably end in his being made chief minister. I represented the nicety of the matter, and the danger of a discovery, whether the proposition did or did not take effect: but after all, being urged by the Duke, promised to lay it before you; and in order to it, desired the Chevalier [Geraldin] to put somewhat in writing, which the Nisbet [Duke], I believe, chiefly dictated, and I now enclose. You will see by it, Sir, not only what is aimed at, but somewhat also of the manner in which it is thought proper to bring it about; and will please to consider how far the closing with this proposal is either prudent or safe, especially at this juncture, when Sussex [the Duke of Bourbon] is courting England so violently, and opposing the Bishop of Fréjus so heartily; and will certainly, if he stands his ground after such a step, resent it highly. However, I have no opinion of my own to offer in the case, being utterly unqualified to judge of it. You will be pleased, Sir, after weighing it, to let me know what answer I shall return. Your assisting the Bishop of Fréjus will certainly forward what you are soliciting here, if you can gain your point of him, before he gains his of you; and it will as certainly defeat it, if your mixing in that affair be discovered before the thing is done. Nor does it clearly appear, if the Bishop of Fréjus should, by your means, gain his Cap first, and then the ministry, what part he would act with regard to England and your interest afterwards. But this point it is supposed, may be cleared, when, upon the general offer proposed to be made by you, the person intrusted discourses the Bishop of Ambrun,* now engaged in your

* Pierre Guérin de Tencin, at this time Archbishop of Embrun, and subsequently Archbishop of Lyon and a Cardinal; which latter dignity he appears to have obtained through the intervention of James. At the time this was written, he was using his best endeavours to forward some money Affairs which James was then soliciting with the French Government, relative to his Wife's Jointure.

behalf has, I doubt not, the same views, though at a greater distance; — but I forbear to enter farther into this matter, which is, as I said, so far beyond my reach. I have mentioned nothing of it to any body here, being obliged to keep the secret inviolate.*

What I have to add on other points, shall be the subject of my letter to Lumnsden [Lord Inverness]. I am,

Sir,

Your ever faithful and

most obedient Servant.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] " Bishop of Rotchester to the King, July 30th, 1725."

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* The subject of this part of Atterbury's letter was considered of so much importance by the Chevalier, that he thought it necessary " to answer that Article fully" in a Letter to the Bishop, dated August 13, 1725, where after informing him that " when Lord Inverness was at Paris Christmas was twelvemonths, he saw Monsieur de Fréjus and offered him my good offices towards obtaining him a Cap, which he not only declined accepting, but even desired me to take no step in the matter," he imparts to him his knowledge of the fact that the Duke of Bourbon at the beginning of this pontificate, fearing that M. de Fréjus might receive this promotion, took private measures to obstruct it; and observes, that, as the nomination of the Crowns was at a great distance, he saw no reasonable appearance of his application succeeding, unless he could demonstrate to the Pope that his Restoration would probably be a consequence of M. de Fréjus' promotion. He then proceeds to state that " From these facts, it is easy to conclude, first, that it is highly improbable that what M. de la Force imparted to you should have been with Mons. de Fréjus's knowledge, much less at his desire: Secondly, that it is a matter of the nicest nature for me to meddle in: and lastly, were all other difficulties removed, it only depends on M. de Fréjus to furnish me with Arguments, which may be prevalent in his favour. All therefore that can be done in prudence, is for you, after returning in my name the proper compliments to M. de la Force for his good will towards me, to inform him, that I have directed you to tell him that I have a very particular esteem for M. de Fréjus, and will always be glad when he, the Bishop of Fréjus, puts it in my power to serve one so much attached to the King of France; adding from yourself what else your own prudence may suggest in conformity to the lights I now give you. If this Proposal really comes from M. de Fréjus, he will not be shocked at this answer, considering what hath already [illegible] in that Affair, and will open further. If he does not, any oth[illegible] would be exposing myself to a great degree."

LI.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *July* 30, 1725.

I am indebted for two of yours of July 4 and 11, and shall now say what occurs to the contents of both of them. There is nothing yet to encourage us from the North, nor is there room for anything beyond a bare attempt on Denmark this summer; which makes me less solicitous for what has happened to hinder the project of supporting the Clans; because matters ripen so slowly elsewhere, that they could have had no concurring assistance from abroad till next year: and before that, their attempt would probably be quashed, though it should be encouraged by the tumults on the account of the malt tax, to which many parts of Scotland seem now disposed. Should those stirs increase they would only draw down more forces northward, and there would be room for the guarantees to send their quotas, and such a body of men would be in readiness to oppose any attempt from abroad, that should be designed in the spring. Upon the whole, therefore, it may not be amiss, that the Highlanders lie still and do not, by that means, encourage a general insurrection in the other parts of the country. The spirit of these people will not be subdued by next year, and will then exert itself with more advantage, if anything can, in the mean time, be concerted abroad to fall in with it and favor it. Thus I think and hope, the thing may prove; and on this account make myself easy under the late disappointment. The disarming the Highlands may possibly not go on this year, the troops designed for this purpose being otherwise employed; and then upon Cameron's return and report of matters, surer measures may be taken both at home and abroad, and every thing duly prepared

against another season. There will be time also for Lord Seafort to repent, and resolve to act a different part. I hear he has written * to Mercer [the King] and complained of my *venturing* to keep back his first letter. He has written also to me about his title † and perhaps may have mentioned it to Mercer. I send you his letter and my answer; which you will be pleased to return to me together with Henry's [Lord North's] and the Duke of Wharton's, which have been sent you. I doubt not but Mercer, in both these instances will justify my conduct; which was intended for his honor and service: and, provided that end be reached, a little peevishness towards me for the present, may be borne. My humble opinion is, that, now Mercer has time to turn himself, Lord Seafort should be managed in such a manner as to see, that the best way of gaining favors, is not to make use of opportunities to extort them, at the same time that he is resolved to sit still himself and do nothing for them. He aims manifestly, at the absolute direction of all matters relating to the Highlands. How he would manage such an affair, may be judged by some steps he has already taken, and the correspondences (I fear) he has entered into. He will be extremely out of humour, when he hears of Finlay's [Mr. Murray's] new title ‡ and will not distinguish be-

* Alluding to his Lordship's letter to the Pretender dated July 17, 1725, and printed on page 166 of the APPENDIX. The "First Letter" mentioned in the same sentence, is that which James addressed, on the 29th of May, to the Heads of the Clans then residing in Paris. This the reader will find in the APPENDIX, page 162.

† See the Note on the subject of Lord Seafort's demand for a Ducal Patent, page 216.

‡ When James declared Mr. Hay his Secretary of State, in the room of Lord Mar, he at the same time, created him Earl of Inverness; and now that Mr. Murray was about to be again more immediately connected with his Court as Governor to his son Charles Edward, he complied with a request that Murray had, himself, made at a period when, by some intrigue of Lord Mar, he felt himself obliged to retire from Rome. The letter which he

tween what is necessary to be done out of hand by Mercer, with regard to his own dignity, and to those who are employed about his person, and what may [be] as well or better deferred to another time. But Cameron's return will clear up many difficulties, and open such views to Mercer, as will enable him to discern plainly what he has to do. In the mean time things may be kept a little in suspense without hazard. I am sorry to say that his journey has not been kept so secret as it should have been: and that I have good reason to believe Filmore [the Duke of Mar] knows not only that, but all particulars here transacted between the Clans,* which is a great misfortune; and the greater, because I see not how it can well be prevented for the future. I have hinted to you already poor Sir N's. [Nicolas Geraldine's] mismanagement in relation to Cameron's conveyance. It might have been hoped that, if he had any talents left, they would have been useful in the affair he took upon himself; his whole life having been spent in such matters. But the truth is, those which he has employed at the sea-side, have imposed upon him, and having a commission given them to draw,

wrote to James for some honorary distinction on the occasion, is still in the Collection, and although it has no date, the contents prove that it was written some time after James' marriage, and before Hay's title was conferred; for he offers the fact of his having been James' proxy, as an additional reason for complying with his request; but at the same time confesses, that Hay has a prior claim to himself for any distinction of this nature. The Titles he now received from the Chevalier were those of "Earl of Dunbar, Viscount of Drumcairn, and Lord of Hadykes:" but it must be observed, that the warrant conferring these honours must have been ante-dated, for it was, in appearance, issued on the 2nd of February 1721. And the same remark may be applied to that relating to Hay, which is dated October 5, 1718.

* The extract from Hay's letter given in the note on page 230 seems to indicate that Hay, (as well as Atterbury), had a suspicion that Lord Mar became acquainted with James' intentions respecting the assistance to be given to the Highlanders, through Lord Seafort: and indeed, considering what we now know to have been going on between his Lordship and the English Government, such a surmise is any thing but improbable.

have made use of it to purpose, and swelled the charges to three or four times the sum, he told me, the thing would cost. He is honesty itself, but has now no manner of abilities. I am sorry I did not see through him sooner. All the amends I can make is by never venturing again on things out of my depth, and which lie not within the compass of my own observation: and in that point I am fully determined. The cross winds have added to our misfortunes in this case, and delayed the journey some weeks, at a time when every moment was precious. But I hope that delay will not prove of ill consequence, since matters are likely to proceed with so slow a pace in Scotland.*

* Cameron arrived at Havre early on the morning of the 7th of July, having previously despatched a letter thither from Sir Nicolas Geraldine to Mr. David O'Bryen who, it was expected, had a ship in readiness. On his arrival, however, he found nothing in the forwardness he had been led to believe, and the ship which Sir Nicolas had advised O'Bryen to provide, was "too big and consequently too expensive: besydes the owner [was] not a proper person to be imployed."

The whole of that and the following day was therefore, occupied by O'Bryen and Cameron in looking out for a lesser vessel at Havre, but to no purpose; and the three following days were similarly occupied at Honfleur, where they succeeded, it seems, in procuring a vessel fit for the purpose. The setting this vessel in order and putting the necessary provisions on board, took up two more days (the 12th and 13th) and on the 14th, "the wind came in so crosse that no shipe could sett out."

On the following day the man who bought the ship and from whom Mr. O'Bryen freighted her, "made new difficultys that his money was not secure, there not being creddite here; and at the same tyme became very troublesome to know wher she was bound, she going away without a loading, and the like. Upon which Mr. O'Bryen gave him Bills on Sir Nicolas Geraldine for part of the freight in advance, as Sir Nicolas advysed."

From this day till the 24th, the wind continued adverse; so that Cameron at last resolved to put to sea at all risques "and take the course the wind afforded" and the hazard of all that might happen, rather than wait any longer; for "he was vexed to see the expence of the ship swell so high beyond what he imagined; that being left all to Sir Nicolas' management." He however, confesses "that Mr. O'Bryen did all he could to bring the owner to reason, who neither had O'Bryen's honesty nor discretion, so that on the whole, it was thought better that the shipe should be bought the

I send you some letters which will give you a fuller view of these matters than I have now time to represent. I have set the solicitation of Norton [General Dillon] again a-going, though he has almost discouraged Arkel [Mr. Lewis Inese] by telling him now, that the other Papers he is to deliver up, are at Paris; whereas, when he was at Paris, he said always that they were all at St. Germains. Filmore (who is now his neighbour) plays the fool with him, and gives vain hopes of seeing things return soon into their old channel; which in some measure, is the cause of his delays, and of his giving even sillier excuses than he used to do, for not complying with what he promised. Perseverance will bring all things to rights.

Randy [Robin Arbuthnot] is almost always at Rouen, and therefore not to be dealt with, by me at least. I question not his principles: they are doubtless the same they ever were: but his conduct is very different; and I am pretty sure, the observations I have made on it, are just. Has he been directed to come to me, and receive directions from me? by his behaviour, I should think he has not.*

You referred me to Johnsonton's [Daniel O'Brien's] letter, upon the head of his being presented to Dagget [the Bishop of Fréjus]. The letter he shewed me referred him to Finlay [Mr. Murray] and there I saw what you meant.† I hope Finlay when he takes leave, will draw

freight being a thousand livres a month, which would soon consume the value of the shipe, as Mr. O'Bryen writt to Sir Nicolas."

* See this point mentioned in a Note to Letter XLVII, page 237.

† The Bishop's observation has reference to a passage in Hay's letter of the 11th of July, in which he states that "The King sends a letter to Mr. Murray for the Bishop of Fréjus, which he is to deliver when he acquaints him with his jurney into Italy: and His Majesty thinks that Murray's takeing leave of the Bishop will be a good opportunity for Daniel [O'Brien] to be presented to him. But I refer you to what I write to Daniel on that subject; and as Daniel will have access to the Bishop of Fréjus, Mr. Le Duc, Mr. de Morville, and the Comtroller Generall on account of solliciting the

new and useful lights from Dagget; whose freedom to him before, I begin now to think, sprung in some measure, from those views of his, about which I have written by this post to Mercer.* His continuing in them may, perhaps, increase his openness.

I have heard nothing yet from the Duke of Wharton. He is upon the very spot of action, and will be a witness of all that passes in relation to the dispute of the *Pas*† upon which a great deal depends. I have yet no way of corresponding surely with him: for though the Nuncio here has been so civil as to write to the Falconer [Minister] there on purpose to convey one letter, yet I cannot hope for his repeating those favors, since he says, he has no business or intercourse with that Falconer [Minister]. But with him

private concerns the King may have att the French Court, you will be master to instruct him and make use of him in matters of greater consequence near these persons when you may think it convenient or useful." Hay's Letter to O'Brien was also dated on the 11th of July, and that portion of it which more particularly relates to the present note, is as follows. "The king has ordered Mr. Murray to discourse you fully on some pretentions His Majesty has at the Court of France relating to private concerns, and the king desires you would take the trouble to sollicite. I shall refer you entirely to Mr. Murray, to whom I have write formerly on these matters."

* Concerning an application that had been made to Atterbury to bring under the Chevalier's consideration, a request for him to use his influence with the Pope to procure a Cardinal's Hat for the Bishop of Fréjus; with whose privity and consent this request, it was hinted, was made. James' observations on the proposition are given in the extract from his letter in the note on page 245.

† Concerning this affair we find the following passage in Murray's Letter to Hay of the 23rd of July. "The only thing we have now at present as to Spanish Affairs is the Duke of Riperda's having notified at Vienna that he had received orders not to yield the Pas to the French Ambassador, which, as most people think, will oblige this Court to recall the Duc de Richelieu in order to avoid a publick contest, in which he would certainly come by the worst, and by consequence, his Master be affronted. If it be the king of Spain's intention to oblige the French to make an offensive war against him he will probably send the like orders to other places and refuse saluting their Ships &c."

in Spain he has; and will always convey and reconvey my letters by that channel, as he has begun to do already.

I have dropped Lord Sinclair. His letters were not fit to be answered by me, but in a manner in which it was not fit for me to answer them. I am afraid you will hear of some violence offered by him to W[alkinsha]w at his return; he having vowed revenge, upon what has been represented to him, and is believed by him, concerning W[alkinsha]w's personating him to the Pensioner.

You are convinced before this time of my having no thoughts of touching the great sum remitted. You remember, and I do not forget, what you told me at Brussels on that head.*

The two letters went by Clincostum,† not exactly according to my mind; which was, to have sent them by the person I mentioned to you, as pitched on for that service. Clin. is subtle and interested, and I wish he may not have infused the thought, which occasioned the cool answer that has been transmitted to you.

If I find Mercer [the King] thinks the papers I received, should stay with me till Cameron comes back, I shall keep them so long; otherwise I shall return them by Finlay

* This refers to the large sum of money (180,000 livres) placed to Atterbury's credit, in contemplation of its being wanted to afford the necessary assistance to the Highlanders. His observation was most probably caused by the following passage in Hay's Letter of the 4th of July, being one of those to which this is an answer. "If nothing be undertaken, His Majesty supposes that the money ordered for that Expedition won't be touched: and indeed it was given him only upon the condition it should be employed on an Expedition."

† These were the two Letters of congratulation from James and Clementina to the daughter of Stanislaus, the exiled King of Poland, on her approaching marriage with Louis XV. They are mentioned in No. XLII, page 203, and again on page 207, in which latter place it appears to have been Atterbury's intention to transmit them through the channel of her Father's Minister at Paris; and this course, as may be seen by the extract of Hay's letter given in the note to that passage, was approved of by James. Why it was not adopted, does not appear.

[Mr. Murray] when he sets out; for I desire to have nothing in my possession but what is of immediate use and service.

I shall long to know whether your transactions with Cardinal Cienfuegos proceed or cool.* My eye is altogether fixed on that point and the court of Zolling [Vienna]: for the expectations from Mrs. Paxton [the Czarine] diminish, and she seems to be put a little out of her way by somebody. If that somebody be the Emperor, and the delay be occasioned by any overtures betwixt them not yet (but which soon will be) adjusted, all is well; and her slow motions will be so much the surer. Should not the true state of Scotland at present be represented fully at Petersburg as a powerful inducement to mix in our affairs? It certainly is so. You see my letters continue to be long. I shall soon make you amends by shorter. I was lately under an apprehension of losing my daughter, the only family comfort I have; but I thank God, that danger is blown over, and I expect her and her husband here by the end of next month. They have had a Sign Manual these three months, without being able to make use of it.

I am, Sir,

Your most, &c.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, July 30th, 1725."

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* Hay's reply to this observation cannot be given, as his last letter to the Bishop for the year 1725, now in the Collection, is dated July 25th, and all those written subsequently to this date (of which there must have been many) are missing. In the above mentioned letter, all he says on the subject of the Cardinal and the negociation he was engaged in with him, is "I expect to see Cardinal Cenfuegos before this goes, tho' I shan't have time to add any thing to it, after I have seen him; and therefore I send you on a Paper apart, the Reflexions I have made before I meet with him."

LII.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir,

Though your last requires an answer, yet I am too ill to give it by this post. However, I cannot defer proposing, that an order under Mercer's [the King's] hand, may be sent to Johnsonton [Daniel O'Bryen] impowering and requiring him (after all the lights you can give us concerning the Papers sent to Filmore [Lord Mar] and Norton [General Dillon] and not returned by them) to demand of them those which still remain in the custody of the one or the other. We will compare all you send carefully with all that is returned, so as to be able to make a clear and peremptory demand. After which he will, I dare say, execute the commission with firmness, and may probably succeed in it. Pardon me, if I add my wishes, that something may be done for my neighbour Panton,*

* The few cant names contained in this letter have been left undecyphered in the original; but as they are well known, and have been compared with the key of the cypher which Atterbury used at the time it was written, they have created no difficulty, with the exception of this one name. It is no uncommon circumstance in this Correspondence, to find both real and fictitious names used in the same letter, and such it is believed is the case in the present instance. In the Bishop's cypher above mentioned, the word "Panton" is inserted as a cant name for "Earl Couper;" but it is impossible to believe that it can, in any way, apply to the Earl Cowper of that period; and it is, therefore, considered to be given as the real name of a Gentleman then residing at Paris, who had frequently corresponded with those at Rome, and who appears to have been a friend of the Duke of Wharton, with whom, from the style of a letter (now in the Collection) which he addressed to his Grace from Paris on the 21st of January, 1726, he must have been on very familiar terms.

The loss of Hay's correspondence with the Bishop, from a little before the period when this letter was written till the commencement of the following year (1726), prevents us from knowing exactly, the result of the Bishop's recommendation. The only light thrown upon the matter, and which leads

either by taking him into the family as a gentleman at large, or employing him elsewhere as shall be thought convenient. He is a man of honest and firm principles; wants neither sense, language, nor experience; is, I think, of good extraction, and has a good graceful person; and is now reduced, I fear, to such extremities, as scarce to be able to support himself and wife, who is well born and one of the best women living. This is the first time I have troubled you with a recommendation of this kind; to which my compassion for the man and his wife, merely prompt me. He is known to Mercer [the King] and to you, perhaps, better than to me, and therefore I make this recommendation with reserve; and if there be a just objection against it, retract it.

August 6, 1725.

Addressed "To the Right Honorable the Earl of Invernesse," and endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, August 6th, 1725."

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to the supposition that it was not successful, arises from a Memorandum of Hay himself on the back of the letter, made, seemingly, with a view to assist his memory when writing his next despatch to Atterbury, and which is to the effect that "The King shuns to encrease the number of Gentlemen here, especially of those that have familys."

There is sufficiently clear evidence to prove that Mr. Panton, as Atterbury indicates, must have been well known to James, for he was one of those to whom the Chevalier accorded permission to write direct to himself; and we may reasonably conclude, from this very circumstance, that he was also equally well known to Hay.

Among his Correspondence now in the Collection, are two letters addressed to the Chevalier. One of these, written according to Edgar's endorsement (for it is undated) November 14, 1729, was to solicit James to have his name placed upon "The Colonels List," by which he would enjoy a small pension granted by the French Government to some of James' Adherents. This was complied with; and it was to convey his thanks for the benefit bestowed upon him, that he wrote (December 26, 1729) the other letter above mentioned. The first of these letters tends to strengthen the opinion that he is the person here intended, by the mention he himself makes of his depressed circumstances; and the second will it is believed, lead to the same conclusion by showing the justness of Atterbury's appreciation of his talents; and proving that he indeed wanted neither sense nor language.

LIII.

SIR, *August* 13, 1725.

The delivery of the letters to Lochiel and Sir H[ector Maclaine] has been so managed as was directed. The temper of Lord Seafort and disposition he is at present in, has appeared to you by what himself has wrote, and by the copy of his letter and my answer, which I lately transmitted to you. My opinion is, that he will continue just in the same situation, till he hears news from Scotland that may give a turn to his thoughts and make him see his error. In the mean time, he shall be dealt with upon a foot of respect, without either humouring him too much, or giving him any just occasion of offence; which is the medium, I think, ought to be observed with him, if it can be hit upon; and will leave room for opening a new intercourse, when he shall become rightly disposed for it. At present, his own passions, and counsels, and mistakes, have bewildered and made him a little peevish.

The Affair of Scotland begins to grow every day of greater consequence, and is, what I humbly recommend to your most serious reflections. There will probably be room enough to prepare and digest every thing relating to it, after Cameron's return and the Report he shall make. I shall explain myself a little further on this head in what I write to Lumnsden [Lord Inverness].*

* The Chevalier replied to this letter on the 28th of August, and he then, in reference to these remarks of the Bishop, assures him that he "shall consider of them, and by that time Cameron returns we shall in all likelyhood be able to form some judgement on the proper steps to be taken, both from the lights he will bring, and from Accounts from foreign courts. The Situation of Scotland is most advantageous to favour any enterprize that may be undertaken, but I doubt much whether my English friends will think it sufficient to authorize them to enter upon more vigorous measures. I heartily wish Lord Orrery were at Paris, for from him many usefull lights might be drawn. In fine, all that can be done for the present, is to prepare and dispose matters so in my own thought, as not to be surprized with any suddain

If the juncture proves favourable, and any thing goes on upon that foot, my earnest request is, that I may not be employed in things of which I am no competent judge; which will breed envy, and occasion mistakes, and every way hurt the service. And therefore, I hope, you will be pleased, Sir, to think of persons proper to be advised with, in their way. Such an one I take Rothe to be, and Nugent also, if he can be depended upon as to keeping the secret from the Duke of Berwick. I am well acquainted with both of them, but best with the first. It must be a letter from you, Sir, (in due time and place) that will oblige either of them effectually to exert himself. And such a person there should be to guide the military part, and to be a check upon the rashness of others, who are not like to consider things with due wisdom and calmness. I offer these hints thus early, that there may be room to consider and digest every thing, before the occasion arrives: as I hope, in some time, it will.

I shall expect the full accounts of the Papers* still in

resolution from abroad; but to be ready on the first intimation, to send such orders every where as a like emergency may require, and to have a more particular regard for the secrecy in all that relates to preparations from or in France, where the Duke of Mar's universal acquaintance with my subjects, will make no attention nor vigillence too little, to keep hidden from him what stepps may be taken then. When Cameron returns to you, you will immediately despatch him here, and send me by him your opinion on the Report he will have made you; and what other lights you can gather relating to my Affairs in general."

* To this part of the Bishop's letter James observes, "Dillon hath not writ to me since he gave up the Papers. Lord Inverness gives you all the lights he has as yet drawn from letters in my hands, as to what other Papers may be still in his or the Duke of Mar's custody. What they have as yet certainly not delivered up, is a number of letters signed by me, and sent with a view of being forwarded to Scotland, in case of an Expedition. You will therefore, find here, a general order for O'Brian to demand the remaining Papers; and if he can neither gett them, nor any account how they are disposed of, it will be fitt to consider what steps should be taken by me to prevent, in case of an Expedition, any ill use being made of such Papers; since

Filmore's [Duke of Mar's] and Norton's [General Dillon's] hands; and your orders relating to them: as likewise your answer in respect to the commission proposed to be given on that head to Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien]. When we receive the proper directions they shall not be neglected.

I am, Sir,
Your ever faithful and most
obedient Servant.

Sir Peter Redmond is here: a man of sense and of zeal for the service. He sees me often. May he not be made use of towards directing and supervising the expences which relate to the maritime part, in which he is perfectly skilled? If you judge so, Sir, you will please to take some way to make us confer together on that part of your affairs with freedom, as often as there shall be occasion.

May it not be proper also to write to some persons of consideration in Scotland with whom you have been used at other times to correspond, in order to have their joint or separate advice at this critical juncture? The great point is to think of one proper to be put at the head of the whole when the time of action comes.

Addressed "To Mr. Mercer" and endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester to the King, August 13th, 1725."

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it cannot be imagined that so manifest and obstinate a disobedience, can proceed from any other cause, but the intention of making, or may be having already made, an ill use of them."

The General Order to O'Brien, mentioned above, is dated August 29, 1725, and is printed on page 121 of the APPENDIX; where, as well as in the Note on page 125-6, the reader will also find other information on this subject.

LIV.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *August* 13, 1725.

Since I acknowledged one of your letters of July 18, I have received another of the 25th, and by this post make my answer to both, as far as is requisite; having little either to add, or oppose to your reasonings on some important points contained in both of them.

There is great reason to fear that your reflections on Captain Hay's letter from Petersburgh are just, and that there's an end of our hopes for this season, from that quarter.* The worst is, that if the designed Alliance with France goes on, there's an end of all expectations from Muscovy, till Dunbar [France] shall break with the Duke of Hanover. If this design succeed, you may depend upon it, 'twill be by the means of Prince Kurakin, who is the great instrument of promoting it now, as he was in the

* This is said in reference to a passage in Hay's communication of the 18th, in which he informs Atterbury that "By a letter from Capt. Hay from Petersburg of the 29th May, O. S. I find he has little hopes of any thing being done for the King's service from that quarter, this year. Admiral Gordon had not then procured an audience of the Czarine, but was ordered to deliver the letters the Captain brought him from the King, into P. Dolhorousky's hands, to prevent the jealousy which was apprehended Admiral Gordon's having an audience, might give to Foreign Ministers there."

"One must understand the methods of that Court very well, to be able to guess at the true reason of this shyness; for 'tis natural for one at a distance, to think that, considering the rank Admiral Gordon bears in the service, and his being actually named publickly to go aboard the fleet then ready to sail, the Czarine's calling for him, needed not have given any room for jealousy. Captain Hay was of opinion that the fleet would not undertake anything of consequence this year: — says that the Czarine at the strong instances of the Court of France, had condescended to send an Envoy to England; — and that it was reported that they had views of entering into a strict allyance with France: which does not agree with the accounts Daniel O'Bryen sends."

Czar's time. From whatever hands it comes, it has a very ill aspect on Mercer's [The King's] affairs, as far as they depend upon the measures taken in that part of the world, and shews how great a loss the death of the Czar is, and how much more easy it is, and will be, to deal with his successors.

And yet you will observe one circumstance in the printed news from England (about the Russian ships appearing on the coasts of Scotland) that, if it holds good, seems still to give hopes that there may be life in that matter. The great mystery to me is, how the Emperor, and France should both join so heartily in promoting this affair, as it is certain both have done. Could their separate interests produce this effect? or was it not rather brought about by the influence of a third Power, according to the scheme laid down in the end of your second letter? which I wish may prove an Italian refinement. I have not light enough to form a sure judgment in such cases: however, thus much I think is plain, that either there must be a real distaste, between the Duke of Hanover and the Emperor, or the Bishop of Fréjus must be terribly deceived in his politics; since I am satisfied, he did not intend to deceive him he had to deal with, in that conversation, of which you have had an account.

Let this riddle be explained which way it will, I shall still agree with you in the prudence of Mercer's [the King's] managing the French Court* in all events, both on

* This passage seems very clearly to point out, that Atterbury's reference "to the scheme lay'd down in the end of the second letter" as mentioned in the preceeding paragraph, alludes to a separate Paper that accompanied Hay's letter of the 25th of July, and which contained his reflections on the probable result of the schemes then pursued by the Emperor and George I., regarding the Courts of France and Spain. He begins by observing that "Notwithstanding the *luison* there appears to be betwixt France and England, as well as the late Treaty betwixt the Emperor and Spain, the King thinks that prudence still ough' to oblige him to manage the French Court; because" as he

the account of his own private affairs there depending, and because a little time at this nice juncture, may produce great changes. There is no objection against managing the people here, there is against relying upon them; in which opinion I have not varied.

When I know the result of your second conference with Cardinal Cienfuegos, I shall be better able to guess at the true situation of the Emperor towards the Duke of Hanover: for, as you well observe, if there be no collusion, steps and approaches will be made towards Mercer; and if they are not, there is but one reasonable way of accounting for that coldness. You are therefore upon a right scent in the experiment you are making.

In the mean time, while nothing encouraging from abroad nor very discouraging at home offers itself, the stop put to the attempt on the Highlands is no misfortune, but may be turned to an advantage. When Cameron comes back, it will clearly appear what is to be done; and there will be room to prepare and digest every thing, agreeably to the report that shall be made by him. The ferment there will, by this delay, be probably raised to its height, and yet perhaps no great impression made on the Highlands by reason of the diversion given elsewhere, of which you will have accounts without my giving them you. If during the long pause that will happen, something from abroad can be put in motion and ripened, the success may answer our wishes.

You are not to expect Lord Seafort's explication of his

observes "when one considers how Spain and France are govern'd, particularly the last, where it is evident that the first minister is no ways capable of business; — has no idea of any thing that is great or glorious, either personally for himself or for the kingdom he manages; the Emperor and England well acquainted with the stupid way these two Courts are in, reckoning to profit of it, may have chose each of them, a different province, viz. The Emperor, Spain; and England, France; with a view of profiting in their management of them by an outward appearance of a disunion betwixt themselves, the better to bring their pupils France and Spain, to what terms they may

own conduct, which, you may remember, he proffered to unfold only upon a condition which I could not comply with. If his scheme fails and he finds himself cheated, or if he perceives the reproaches against him grow warm and loud, in either case I shall hear of him again, and be let into the secret: and the best way to know it will be, not to appear eager to pry into it; but preserve a respectful distance, which will leave room for a new intercourse when he shall judge it convenient. You are in the right: his resolutions were not founded upon the intelligence he had of Mercer's letter, but of an earlier date.

The letter to Lochiel and Sir H[ector Maclane], and the other to the former of them, were delivered in the manner desired.

I can furnish you with no materials of that kind you want towards dealing with Cardinal Cienfuegos. How should I, who am so much alone and so little assisted towards gaining such lights? and am still likely to be less!*

think best. The Emperor it is plain, from the Queen of Spain's furious temper, has had an opportunity of playing his part early; and France, by its conduct, will be reserved for the after game, which, according to these notions, England will have an opportunity of playing them into, by leaving them in the lurch after they have engaged them into measures, which may not be forgiven easily by the Emperor." And he concludes by observing, " I shall be apt to believe that this is either in part or wholly the case, if the Emperor shows no inclination to enter into any terms with the King; and to make this discovery, the King's making advances to the Emperor may be reasonable, since it will contribute to make this discovery. The Pope has write a strong letter to the Emperor in his own hand, recommending the King's interest to him — *à propos* of the peace lately concluded betwixt him and Spain; but as I have often told you, there is nothing to he expected by way of negociation from the Pope; and dry letters of Recommendation is all that this place can afford. I write you my reflections as they present themselves to me, that so you may make yours upon them — so that by refining on every subject, the good may have impression and the refuse may be laid aside." cc

* This observation arose from a request, made by Hay in his letter of the 18th of July, for Atterbury to furnish him with any information he could

The Forms you would have got from England by me, cannot be procured till my son-in-law returns. Three or four month's time will scarce furnish me with them.* The Duke of Wharton will be able to get them sooner, if it be thought fit to employ him on that head. I have heard nothing from him since that letter I transmitted to you, though I have written twice to him. The sum, I find, which is allowed him by his Trustees to subsist upon abroad, will not admit of the project I had entertained, of his supporting the Chevalier;† and that could only have been proposed to him upon a personal interview, and bringing them both together.

Do not forget to return the three letters you now have of mine.

When you send the accounts requisite to complete the list of Papers demanded of Filmore [the Duke of Mar] and Norton [General Dillon], and Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] has the commission I moved for, we will not be idle in that matter.

collect respecting the negociations then going on between France and England, as materials for him the better to carry on his conferences with Cardinal Cienfuegos. The extract from Hay's letter to which this passage is a reply, is given in the Note on page 238.

* In one of James' missing letters to Atterbury there must have been a Postscript relating to this subject; for in Hay's letter, (July 18) to which this is an answer, appears the following passage, "What the King meand by the Postscript of his letter to you, was to desire you would get him from England the Protocol or Forms, used by the Kings of England in their writing and addressing to their own Subjects of different ranks — such as to the Lord Mair, Peers, Bishops, &c.; as well as the Forms in writing to Foreign Princes. What the King makes use of at Present, is the King of France's, which serves for Foreigners; but Mr. Dillon never could send the King, the English one. This can only be got out of the Secretary's office in England."

† The Son of Sir Nicolas Geraldin, whom Atterbury wished to have placed with the Duke of Wharton, on the removal of Tom. Sheridan to Rome. Hay himself had also suggested some arrangement of this sort, in his letter of the 25th of July. See Note, page 232.

I thank you for the Cypher,* and shall expect the other you promise. Finlay [Mr. Murray] I suppose will leave his with me.

I am much concerned at the expence of Cameron's journey: but I relied on Sir N[icolas Geraldin] (as I had reason to do, since, if he knows any thing, he could not, I thought, be ignorant of these matters); and he trusted two of his countrymen, who have, I fear, made improper advantages. Sir N[icolas] directed them in every thing, to obey Cameron's orders; but he is, I suppose, altogether as unskilful in these things as I am. For the future, I must desire to be intirely excused from meddling in such money matters, which I do not at all understand. I am afraid the ten thousand livres lodged in Waters' hands for such purposes, will be pretty near exhausted; but then, out of that sum, a ship will be purchased and ready for service, should occasion require; or, should there be none, may be parted with again at near the price for which it was bought.†

I directed only 200 (not 400) livres to be paid to the two, to supply an immediate exigence:‡ being very un-

* A Cypher of names that had been heretofore used between Hay and Tom. Sheridan. In the same letter (July 25) which conveyed this cypher, Hay further tells the Bishop, "I have lykeways desired Mr. Murray to give you a sheet of Paper of which Lord Wharton has with him a copy, or, if he has it not, Tom. Sheridan can lykeways give him a copy of it. I thought this better than making new ones, which must have been trusted to several posts. I shall lykeways as soon as I can, send you two Copys of a Cypher of another kind for facilitating your correspondence with any other person you may have occasion to give it to; and the person or persons you give it to, may likeways write hither by it, since I shall have a copy of it."

† See a Note to Letter LI. page 249, in reference to this subject.

‡ This appears to be an observation in reply to a passage of Hay's letter of the 25th, in which he observed, "The King approves very much of the 400 livres you ordered for Lochyel and Sir Hector Maclean; and tho' money matters are very low at present with the King, and that he is actually living now as he has done for several months, upon Credit, nevertheless His Majesty has ordered me to send Lochyel a Bill of £400. [livres], in consideration of the extraordinary expence his son is at present to him; but recommends

willing to meddle even thus far; and having always invariably spoken the language you mention, to those who applied to me on that head: and being very desirous of ever continuing on the same foot in that respect.*

I have had a message from Beaumont [Sir Harry Goring] to the same purpose with what you mention out of his letter.† He and Norton [General Dillon], &c. are very busy in contriving somewhat which, if not watched, will prove of no, or of mischievous consequence. They have sent an express four days ago to Lord North, pressing his coming

secrecy to him, as you'll see I do by the inclosed, and which I beg you'll repeat to him, in delivering or sending him the letter. Sir Hector Maclean receives regularly from Mr. Waters £137. [livres] a month, so that he cannot be in so much want as the other. However I must remark to you, that Mr. Waters only states £200. payd to Lochyel, and states nothing extraordinary payd to Sir Hector: and Lochyel in his letter to me by last post, mentions having received only £100.; so that perhaps Mr. Waters may have understood your order to have been to pay £200. for both of them, whereas you may have meand that each of them should have received so much: in which case you can easily rectify it, by ordering Mr. Waters to pay them £200. more."

* In the letter from which the preceding note is extracted, Hay tells the Bishop, "I'll take this opportunity of informing you that the King, ever since you have been at Paris, has shund as much as possible, giving you any trouble about money matters; only from the remark that he made of the odium that that brought upon Mr. Dillon from the lesser sort of people who were in want, and who it was impossible for the King to supply, which His Majesty wished you might be freed from, as what would have given you a great deal of uneasyness, and could noways have advanced his interest. It is therefore that the King wishes you may have it in your power to rid yourself of such importunities, by letting those who apply to you know, that you don't meddle in money matters; tho' the King does not intend that this should hinder you from ordering what you think necessary in particular cases, and for those whom you have occasion to employ immediately."

† The particular letter of Sir Harry Goring here mentioned, has not been found; but the sense of the passage alluded to, was given in Hay's letter to the Bishop of the 25th of July, in which he assured him that Sir Harry, in his reply to a letter he had received from the Chevalier, had "informed the King that he would be always ready on your call, to receive your directions."

to Dunbar [France]. I found out what they were doing, and took care to write largely to Lord North by the same messenger, what, I apprehend, may tend to preserve him from rash and ill-judged measures, into which Filmore [the Duke of Mar] will, if he possibly can, spirit them up; though they would have it believed, that he is out of their secret and distrusted by them; which is an errant farce. I have reason to think, another messenger is gone from them to England.

However the point of Scotland is an object that deserves the most serious attention, and in which, if it can be brought to bear, all hands and measures ought to be employed. They who are busy here, will probably press an attempt in England purely on that bottom, and will think they have ground enough to stand upon, in order to it, even without foreign assistance. That is far from being clear to me. Lord Orrery, when he comes over in Autumn, will be of use to clear it, and you will be pleased also to know the Duke of Wharton's sense of it; which you may learn, without proposing it to him directly as a scheme, but by way of general enquiry concerning the present state and disposition of England.

The supposition I made as to Sussex [the Duke of Bourbon] is not altogether improbable,* especially if you

* In his letter to Hay of the 9th of July (which has not been found) Atterbury must have mentioned something about the probable fall of the Duke of Bourbon — the then French prime minister — as Hay's letter of the 25th touches upon the subject by observing, "Your reflexion on the supposition that Mr. Le Duc may fall, and the Duke of Orleans succeed him, is very good; but the misfortune is, that the last is no man of himself, and that his conduct, should he come to have the name of the great man, will depend upon those into whose hands he may fall, who in all probability will be some of those who are old pensioners of England, as the most part of them employd by his father were formerly. It may be usefull to find out what interest the Duchess has with him. His mother has generally a good character, and has practized less reserve with the King than most of the Princesses in France, and often sends Compliments to the King without reserve, by Cardinal

take in (to the resentments of Spain and the universal murmurs at home) what I sent you lately about the Bishop of Fréjus's Cap, which I apprehend to have been set forward, not without his privity. It is plain what is aimed at by that measure. The Duke of Orleans, I think, appears to be in the secret of it. Should the Duke of Orleans succeed in what he aims at, will not M. Le Blanc be a person chiefly employed and trusted? and is there any reason to doubt of his good intentions towards the King? But these are speculations at a distance:—but I was willing to say somewhat to every part of your two letters; and having done so, I conclude for the present with assurances of my being, &c.

[P. S.] Finlay and Johnsonton will not return time enough from their visit,* for me to say any thing upon the subject of it, this post. I have some faint hopes that the Bishop of Fréjus may write by Finlay and discover a little, by the tenor of his letter, what he would be at: and for that reason have been of opinion that he should have this early notice of Finlay's motions, that he may have time to recollect himself, and consider what message he may have to send by him.

I find after all the two gentlemen are still here at Paris.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rochester, August 13th, 1725."

Gualterio's canal. It will be easily known if he be *à la mode* of keeping Mistresses, and some steps may be taken by the King of cultivating his friendship: but that must depend upon the lights that can be sent from your parts. In the mean time His Majesty does not let slip any opportunity of showing civility to that family."

* To Versailles; whither Murray and O'Brien had gone for the two-fold purpose of presenting to the Bishop of Fréjus, a letter from James, as mentioned in Hay's communication of the 11th of July, (see Note to Letter LI. page 250), and of introducing, at the same time, Col. O'Brien as Murray's successor in carrying on certain negociations relating to the Chevalier's private affairs then pending with the French Government; and having reference principally to his Wife's jointure.

LV.

To the Duke of Wharton.

Sir, *August* 26, 1725.

Both your letters of August 2. and 8. reached me safe, and both (I need not tell you) were welcome. Mine to you of July 11. lay in the posthouse here for want of my franking it to the frontier; and from thence I have lately retrieved it. The latter clause of it is the only one that deserves your perusal. However for the sake of that, and to show you that I was willing to lose no time (though I have happened to lose a great deal) I transmit the whole to you. I am in a little pain as to this reaching you, because the person* under whose cover it comes, is, by this time, I know well, upon his remove from your parts: but I hope, being aware of this, he leaves instructions behind him, for somebody to open any packet that comes from hence to him, and deliver yours to you. Under that view, I shall venture at saying something to you in this, though not so much as I would, if I were thoroughly at ease as to the conveyance.

This is the last time I shall write to you this way, because I find the two gentlemen† made use of to transmit our letters backwards and forwards, are not regular correspondents, nor upon such a foot, as to be willing to convey. At least that is the case of the person here; and therefore I must, in decency, trouble him no further than, once for all to settle by his means, our Cypher and method of address. It is troublesome to use your Syllable-Cypher

* Thomas Sheridan, who had been appointed Sub-Governor to Charles Edward; and who was now about to leave Vienna to assume the duties of his office.

† The Nuncios at Paris and Vienna.

without adding to it another of names, which will often shorten the work: and such a one therefore, I now send you.*

You may safely send any thing that you write in those two Cyphers, by the common post; directing it without any cover, à Monsieur Monsieur JONES, vis à vis la Fontaine de Carmelites, Rue et Fauxbourg St. Jacques, pour faire tenir à Monsieur VILDOC, à Paris; or under cover à Monsieur WATERS, Banquier, Rue de Battoir, Paris, inclosing a letter à Monsieur ANDREWS or MALHERB. While there is no rupture between the two nations, there is no manner of danger in this method of conveyance. On the other side, you will be pleased to let me know, under what banker's cover at Vienna I must direct to you by the name of ARNOLD: which you may impart by the same method you sent your last, if for once more, you can employ the Nuncio with you, and convey your letter easily to him, after Sheridan shall be gone; but in that case you must put mine under a cover, à Monsieur OBRYEN, à Paris, who is known to the Nuncio here, as I am not, nor desire to be — for many reasons. So much for preliminaries.

I am sorry to say, your account of the state of things in that country you left, is not news to me. I have heard of it from several hands, and shall have still ampler accounts

* The Cypher of which Atterbury here speaks, is, unquestionably, that which was transmitted to him from Rome for the purpose of being forwarded to the Duke of Wharton, and of which Hay makes mention in his communication of the 25th of July as stated in the note on page 264. It is also that in which the Bishop wrote such portions of the present letter, the meaning of which he intended to conceal from all but the Duke. The letter itself remains precisely in the state in which it was sent — that is, undecyphered; and as the Cypher is entirely different from any hitherto used by Atterbury, it must have remained in its original and unintelligible form, but for the discovery of two counterparts (one of names and one of syllables, and both in Sheridan's hand writing) among the other Cyphers in the Collection; by the means of which, this extremely interesting and important letter has now been laid open to the reader.

in a conversation I am to have to morrow even. with Mr. Philips*. Since the desertion is begun and will certainly

* Of this Gentleman there is some mention in one of Murray's letters to Hay (July 23, 1725) by which it appears that he had but recently arrived at Paris, with the Duke of Beaufort. Of this nobleman Murray observes "He appears to be very honest, and positively refused to go to court before he left his own country, which occasioned an *eclat;* because he was warmly pressed to it by some of his nearest relations, who threatened to send a Privy-seal after him to bring him back again. One Mr. Phillipes is his govenor, who was to wait on Mr. Leviston [the King] in Lorraine. He is a very honest man, and does his utmost not only to confirm him in these good principles, but to act agreeably to Mr. Sweatman's [the King's] views as to his affairs: and by his means the other has avoided so much as receiving a visit from Martel [the Duke of Mar]; and this gentleman may be made very good use of. I therefore think, that if Mr. Leviston should take occasion to write me a letter, as if I had sent this account to himself, in which there were in the first place, a compliment proportioned to the greatness of his family (which is one of the greatest in his country) and making mention of his relation to the Duke of Ormond who is his Uncle by marriage; and after that, give me orders to make a proper compliment to the other gentleman, expressing an approbation of his zeal, and particularly of his desire to support the k[ing]'s measures; and remitting him to me for what information might be necessary from time to time for that purpose; — I'm perswaded that both these things would be good; but particularly as to the last article, since this person is likely to remain some time here, and will see every Englishman who comes over. I dare answer that something expressed with dignity, will do considerable service. I should think that both their names should be writ in cypher, and the letter so contrived that I may give it to the Gentleman."

This advice appears to have been acted upon; but not in time for Murray's agency — as James' letter to the Duke was not written till the 17th of December. After complimenting the Duke on following the examples of his Ancestors in his adherence to him and his cause, James states his conviction that he (the Duke) would not need any one to prompt him "to what your own inclinations as well as duty leads you. But," adds the Chevalier, "You have one with you whom I much esteem, and whose greater experience of the world may enable him to moderate sometimes in you, a zeal which cannot be too much commended, but which it may be sometimes more advisable to conceal, that it may be essentially useful on great and proper occasions. You are young and have time before you to make that figure in mine and my Country's service, which your birth and personal good qualities will enable you to do. I am fully persuaded you will ever answer my great and just expectations of you, and I hope I shall have it in my power to give you the most distinguishing marks of my favour and friendship."

go on, nobody being left on the spot to resist it,* the more quickly the steps can be taken towards obviating the consequences of it, the better; that so that degree of spirit now remaining, may not be checked and extinguished before the time of action comes. And yet the opportunity cannot possibly be ripened, or wisely laid hold of, till some Foreign Power is induced to lend its assistance, and in so effectual a manner, as to convince those at home, that any attempt they shall make for their liberties, will not be insecure nor fail of success. Too many raw and rash schemes have been already formed, which, had they been executed, would have ruined those for whose sakes they were entered into, and strengthened the hands of their enemies. And that effect, though not executed, in good measure they had, upon the treacherous underhand discoveries that were previously made of them. I need not say by whom — that matter is no secret at present: since my coming over, such ample proofs of it have appeared to me, as are not to be

* Among the Duke of Wharton's Correspondence there is the rough draft of one of the letters to Atterbury (that of the 8th of August) the receipt of which is here acknowledged. The present passage evidently refers to that particular part of the last mentioned letter, in which, after mentioning that "the disafection of the common people increases daily in England," and that "he could with pleasure, assure him, that many considerable men in England are still sincerely attacht to the King and his cause, and labour with more industry and assiduity than ever, in promoting of his Majestys interest," observes, "but I wish I could leave this head without being oblig'd to make my compliments of condolence for the inconstancy of poor Bathurst, who has quite left his old friends, and seems to be the intire pupil of Bolingbrook and Harcourt. *Heu Pietas, Heu prisca fides!* I wish Lord Gore does not fall into the same snare before he knows where he is. They have already prevailed upon him to preach up dispair in all companys, and such a doctrine is poyson to honest minds that are subject to fear. Sir William Wyndham is the secret spring of this desertion, or, at least lukewarmness in men of better sence than himself; and neither of these Gentlemen whom I have mentioned are ever at present consulted in, or entrusted with, any busyness whatsoever."

resisted. Let therefore the next Attempt be upon a sure foot, and with the utmost secrecy. I will answer for it, that nothing imparted to me here, shall break out; for I use no hands but such as I can entirely depend on. The only Power of which there is at present any good hope, is that of your court (wherein that also of Spain is included.) How happily are you situated in that respect, and how much may we owe to your address and diligence? Get into Riperda's acquaintance if you can possibly, and find it will give no jealousy to Zinzendorf. Nothing is to be expected from hence. There is not the least disposition in this Court to favour the King's cause; which surely should induce those where you are, the more heartily to espouse it. I shall long to hear the event of your Memorial; but wonder how matters could have been so soon ripened, as to enable you to present one.

When once the negociation begins to work, you will be furnished with the topics fittest to be urged and insisted on: and I can assure you there are such to be offered as, it is highly probable will be relished. But of these things you will hear from Rome. Nothing can please me more than that expression, that you will do your duty as a subject to your Prince, and as an Englishman to your Country. He that carries those two things together in every step he takes, and never divides the interest of the one from the other, cannot well miscarry. Depend upon my seconding you in everything which tends to the joint good in both. That is the point from which I will never vary. The King is possessed with a just sense of all your noble qualifications: exert them for his service. Never man had a fairer field for action assigned him: *Spartam, quam nactus es, orna*, and though you made so significant a figure at home, let the world be convinced that you can be yet more useful abroad. Will you give me leave to put you in mind, that

your success will, in great measure, depend upon the coolness of mind in which you shall preserve yourself.* *Hic mos est, multis urgere culullis.* He that can bear that sort of question, especially in that clime (*commissumque teget jam vino tortus*)† is superior to all others. Pardon me, Sir, for this pedantry; you led me the way to it, by the Latin at the end of your second letter.‡ Surely, I have read those lines in some of Tully's Epistles. If I have not, I have read none better there. I wish the application were as proper as the Latin is excellent: it would make me amends for all I have suffered, could I be sure that the reflection belongs to me. Now I am in this learned way, permit me to recommend one book to you — Cardinal D'Ossat's Letters. Be pleased to read them, if you can light on them where you are, as the justest model of acting and writing in all matters of negotiation. There is a late French edition of those Letters, by Amelot de la Houssaye, in two Quartos, and a Dutch one with the same Notes, in Octavo. If you can get either of them, I am very sure you will find in those letters, something that will please you wonderfully; equal entertainment and instruction, a mixture of wisdom and honesty, both in the height. But enough of this matter. Nor will I venture any farther at present upon other matters, till I hear whether this comes safely to hand. Believe me ever, with the truest respect,

Sir,

Your very faithful,

and most obedient Servant,

ANDREWS.

* This is the Bishop's delicate manner of insinuating his advice to the Duke not to indulge in his frequent and unrestrained potations — a failing which no preaching seemingly, could extinguish or even mitigate. The *Hic mos est* appears to be an addition of the Bishop's own, to the line of Horace.

† Commissumque teges et vino tortus et ira. — Hor. lib. i. Epist. 18.

‡ Dated the 8th of August, 1725, a rough copy of which is in the Collec-

If Sh[erida]n has given you another Cypher of names, as I am told he should be ordered to do; be pleased to reconvey this by the same channel.

Endorsed [by the Duke of Wharton] "Bishop of Rochester, Aug. 26th, 1725."

LVI.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *September*, 17, 1725.

I have been extreme ill, and labouring under three several indispositions; of which one (the stone) still gives me a great deal of uneasiness; nor should I have ventured to have written even this post, notwithstanding the several dispatches I have received from you which remain unanswered, but that Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] being out of the way, at Fontainbleau, and not being likely to return time enough to write by this post, I force myself to say somewhat by it, rather than let it go away without carrying letters from either of us. Johnsonton is well employed where he is, and I believe with success, in relation to the money matters he solicits; and will, I doubt not, be able by the next post, to give you a good account of them: but I shall have no opportunity this day or two, to deliver him his packet that came by last post, or to employ him as directed. As soon as he returns, no time shall be lost, but what my infirmities necessarily take up, which will grow, I fear, every day more and more upon me. The Papers at Cameron's return shall be sent by him, or deli-

tion; but it is much to be regretted that it does not contain the Latin lines which are here said to have been at the end of it.

vered up here, as far I understand the directions given in yours of August 15, which I wish were a little more explicit and particular: for I am very desirous to have nothing in my custody; and to distribute what I now have, into the hands that shall be thought most proper to receive them.

I forbear to enter into several particulars, till I am more capable of thinking and writing, especially in Cypher. In general, I cannot but observe that the new Alliance between France, England, and the King of Prussia, which was certainly signed here the 14th, seems to promise that this juncture is every way favorable for pressing the Emperor, who seems to be openly struck at, and must, necessarily change his measures. Lord Townshend has been at the Hague to solicit the States of Holland to join, upon the foot of suppressing the Ostend Company. This is open and barefaced, and cannot surely but work right. If the Empress of Muscovy joins in the general, she will join also in the particular Scheme: and what then can hinder the consequences? In the mean time, if the other matter in agitation here should succeed (of which I hope to give Mercer [the King] some account either by this, or at farthest by next post) France will be in confusion; incapable, and perhaps unwilling, to assist the Duke of Hanover. I need not explain myself on that article; the reasonings are pretty obvious and very encouraging. That trifle of a Cap, if it hits right, may possibly give a turn to the affairs of Europe, and set England upon its true basis. But I will not anticipate what is to be said on that affair; after I have looked a little farther into it, as I every moment expect an opportunity.

All seems to go very right in Scotland, and to tally with what is working elsewhere: but no reflections of that kind can securely be relied on till we see Cameron.

Lord Orrery's answer is the very truth; you know I have a late and sure opportunity of informing myself of the true situation of those Affairs; and, therefore, nothing must be depended on from thence, without help from abroad; let circumstances in the neighbourhood be never so favorable.

Lord Lansdown is gone, or going, to the sea side, as is said, to meet his lady; but I verily believe, to go, or prepare matters for his going into E[nglan]d: and I doubt not but the Duke of Mar will follow him as soon as he can. The transmitting those Vindications, is with a view of preparing his way. Need that Memorial be made any longer a secret in England, when he makes none of it in Scotland? More when I am more able! for the present, adieu!

Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] is returned, unexpected; and will write by this post himself.* The Duke de la Force cannot come to me till to-morrow night; and therefore I cannot write to Mercer [the King] on that affair by that post. He may depend upon it, that the thing springs from M. de Fréjus himself; and I have some hopes to obtain somewhat express on that head, according to his instruc-

* The letter which O'Brien dispatched to Hay by this post, was written "à 11 heure du soir," at which time he says, "jarrive dans cemoment de Fontainbleau ou jay appris avec certitude quun traité daliance y a esté signé le 14e ausoir entre la france, langleterre, et laprusse; lon ma assurez que la hollande ne vouloit pas y entre. Cela precipitera le Traité commencé entre Beaufort [La Czarine] et Erlac [L'Empereur] et 278 [L'Espagne]; cest de ces dernieres que Leviston [Le Roy] atout a esperer apresent, et surtout de Erlac, qui vraysemblablement doit estre apresent autant ennemis de Miller [Le Duc d'Hannover] quil a parus jadis dans ces interest." The remainder of the letter consists, for the most part, of information relative to the Money Affair which O'Brien had to solicit for James with the French Ministry: with the addition, however, of a hint, that although he had seen the Duchess of Bourbon every day during his visit at Fontainebleau, she had never once enquired after the King [i. e. James].

tions. To-morrow I shall be able to pass a more clear judgment of it. I desire a copy of this letter, being not able to take one myself.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester."

LVII.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *Paris, September*, 24, 1725.

With much ado, I was able to write to you last post, though without copying my letter. I am a little better this post, and will endeavour, having finished a letter to Mercer [the King] and copied it, to write another to you: and as long a one, as my pains and infirmities will give me leave to write.

I begin with telling you my surprize at my having heard nothing from Offield [the Duke of Wharton], since his promise of writing largely to me; of which I informed you. He has not so much as owned the receipt of my last, which went by the Nuncio's pacquet, under cover to Mr. Sheridan. I should be glad to see his Memorial,* not merely out of curiosity, but to enable me to judge a little of what we may expect from his future conduct. There are letters from the Duke of Richelieu here, in which he says, he is well acquainted with him. One Butler† has

* This is the Memorial mentioned in the Note on page 224. The Duke in his letter to the Pretender, dated August 25, 1725, states that "it was translated into French by Mr. Sheridan; by whom I shall send Your Majesty a Copy of it. I am to receive my answer on Monday Evening, and have taken the liberty to keep Sheridan here till that great event is over."

† This Gentleman accompanied the Duke of Wharton from England. In one of Mr. Sheridan's Letters, dated August 4, 1725, he is styled Captain

been with me from him, but seems not to have been entrusted by him with any thing of consequence. I wish him success: for he is on the very spot of business; from whence all the good news we expect, must probably come.

I am clear in transmitting to England the Duke of Mar's Memorial, because I doubt not but he has sent it to Scotland without his letter to the Duke of Orleans, by which Mercer [the King] is cleared as no ways privy to it: and that is too tender a point to be left to the hazard of not being well understood. I shall be better able to judge what is to be done, when I see the Abstract* you mention.

I heard from the Duke of Ormond on Saturday, but his letter has nothing in it. By some hints I have received before (and intimated to you) I perceive things are not

Butler, and said to be a son of the Duke of Ormonde. This latter assertion may, possibly, be correct, although the Duke, at the period it was written, had no surviving male issue from either of his marriages.

* It is clear that at the period of writing this letter (September 24) Atterbury had not seen, but evidently expected to receive the Document, which in this paragraph he designates as an Abstract of the Duke of Mar's Memorial; while on the first of the following month, we find him acknowledging the receipt of "Lord Mar's Vindication;" thereby making it pretty evident that these Titles apply to one and the same Document. It is the more necessary to notice this variation, because the reader may have observed, during his perusal of these letters, that there really were two Documents in existence, at the time this was written, bearing these respective Titles; and might consequently suppose, that the Abstract of the Memorial here mentioned, refers to the Paper submitted to the Duke of Orleans by Mar, and concerning which so much mention has been made in the course of this Correspondence. Such, however, it may safely be pronounced, can not be the case; for it has been shown, that Atterbury already possessed not only an Abstract of that Memorial (forwarded to him by Hay on the 13th of June, 1724, and printed in the APPENDIX, page 88) but even a Copy of the entire Paper; and the natural and inevitable inference therefore is, that the Memorial here mentioned, is nothing more than another term for the "Vindication" which Mar had recently put forth in relation to his own conduct in the management of James' affairs, and an Abstract of which Hay had procured from Peter Smith, as mentioned in the Note on page 190.

right in that quarter; but what the bottom of the matter is, I know not: only sure I am, that there are people every where at work, to do all the mischief they possibly can. They got some account, I suppose, of some little uneasiness the Duke of Ormond might be under, and improved it into what you saw printed in the newspapers. Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] has begun to execute his commission,* and will push the thing. He himself, I suppose, will by this post, give you an account of the steps he has taken. I thought it proper that he should send a copy of his Powers (as well as of the Papers wanting) to Norton [General Dillon]; in order, if it were possible, to awaken him; and I think it has done it, though how long the effect will last, is the question.

Lord Seafort has sent me word, he will be with me this week, and seems to be under some remorse as to his measures, and apprehensive that he shall be crushed between two sides, and utterly lose his reputation, as well as fail in the views he proposed to himself. If he comes, I shall treat him with civility, but reserve, and tell him (which is true) that my growing infirmities, make it necessary for me to contract my sphere of action, and not meddle much in affairs to which I am so much a stranger, and have no prospect of managing with success or satisfaction.

* Relative to the Papers still in Lord Mar's and Dillon's possession; and in conformity with the special Powers granted by James for this purpose, dated Aug. 29, 1725; (see APPENDIX, p. 121). O'Brien appears to have sent to Dillon, as Atterbury here indicates, a list of the missing Papers, with a request that he would reply to each particular article; but "apres avoir retenus," he observes, "un jour entier un domestique que je luy ay envoyéz, il ma enfin fait dire de bouche, quil me feroit reponse aujourdhuy. Je ne lay pas encore reçue." After stating that he would demand from Lord Mar all those Papers which Dillon confesses not to be in his possession, he concludes this part of his letter by begging Hay "etre persuadé que je fairay dans cette ocation comme en toute celles qui se presenteront pour le service de Mr. Leviston [Le Roy] toute la dilligence que dependra de moy."

Lord Seafort's opinion is, that they will go no farther this season, than the disarming the Mackenzys,* Macdonalds, and Clanronalds: but since Wade has made his quarters at Seafort's house, I imagine he intends to go on further in executing his commission, and send out his summons to places at a greater distance, as long as ever the season will favour their being obeyed.

If things continue as they are, and Cameron brings good news, I need not say of what importance it will be to fix, soon, on vigorous measures; if any can be fixed on without the assurance of some Foreign assistance. Without that, it is certain, England will not stir, nor, in my judgment, will a small force be sufficient to encourage them. And I believe when Lord Orrery comes, he will be of the same opinion. Lest I should mistake, I will send by Cameron, all the Papers† I have; even the Full Power, Mercer [the King] lately sent me.

* It is probable, that at the time he offered this opinion, he was aware that, as far as his own Clan was concerned, the Government measure had been carried into effect before the first of September, on which day General Wade addressed the following letter (of which there exists a copy in Allan Cameron's hand-writing) to Cameron of Locheill.

SIR, *Inverness, September* 1, 1725.

The Chiefs and Tribes of the M'Kenzies, and others belonging to the estate, formerly the late Earl of Seaforth's; having, in obedience to the Act of Parliament, peaceably delivered up their arms to me at Castle Brahan; and your People being also summoned to bring, or send in, their arms to Fort William, on or before the 13th Instant, I persuade myself you will use your best endeavours to induce them to imitate so good an example, by a ready and chearful complyance with the Laws of the Kingdom,

I am, Sir, &c.

To Mr. Cameron of Locheill, or in his absence
to Mr. John Cameron, his Brother.

This is endorsed by Allan Cameron, "General Wade to John Cameron, son to Locheill, Sept. 1, 1725."

† The Letters addressed to the different Chiefs of the Clans and some of the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen of Scotland, when James contem-

The harvest is, I think, plainly ripe in Scotland, if other circumstances could be brought to concur. Wade has been able to bring but 2000 men to Inverness, by reason of the apprehensions they are under of stirs in the Lowlands.

What is to be done with the ship at its return? I have told you I cannot be useful in any such matters.

As to the public discourse which has been here concerning matters which ought to have been kept private on many accounts, I shall not touch that matter now:* but when I do, it will appear to have been attended with the most mischievous consequences, and such as cannot easily, if at all, be retrieved. I forbear to say more, and am glad I have been able to get to the end of this second long letter. Believe me,

Sir,

Your respectful and faithful Servant.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, September 24th, 1728."

LVIII.

To the Duke of Wharton.

Sir, *September 26*, 1725.

I have heard nothing from you since a short letter of yours, dated about a month or five weeks ago, wherein

plated another descent there; and which, from the abandonment of the Scheme, were now become useless. They are the same as those mentioned in the note on page 215. The Full Power here spoken of, is printed on page 142 of the Appendix.

* The loss of much of Hay's correspondence with the Bishop just at this particular period, will necessarily cause this passage to remain obscure. From the expressions used, it is presumed to relate to the intrigue which originated and fostered the misunderstanding between James and Clementina, and which Mar took care should be no secret at Paris.

you promised me, by the next post, a long one. I have written to you, since that, largely, though without entering into matters of consequence; not being sure mine would reach you. It went by Quin [the Pope's Nuncio], and I told you in it, why I could make use of that channel no more. I ought regularly, before this time, to have had an account of your receiving it, which I now desire. I have from Ulick [Rome] your two addresses you sent thither, and now make use of one of them.

I sent you in the large packet that Quin conveyed, the copy of a Cypher. I am in pain about that, and shall be, till I hear it reached you, and in due time. I believe, I sent you an address for myself. If I did not, let your next be directed à Mons. ANDREWS, under cover, à Mons. PANTON chez Mons. ADAM, Rue des Postes, près l'Estrapade, à Paris.*

I wait impatiently for the answer to your Memorial.† I can say no more till I hear from you, but am,

Sir,

Your ever faithful and obedient Servant.

Addressed "A Monsieur Monsieur Philips," and endorsed [by the Duke of Wharton] "Bishop of Rochester, Sept. the 26th, 1725."

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* Certain portions of this letter are written in the Cyphers which Atterbury appears now to have adopted when writing to the Duke, who seemingly, not liking the trouble of writing down the interpretation, has left them in the undecyphered state in which they were forwarded to him. This is the case with all the letters he received prior to being joined by Sir John Græme, and includes the present one; which, from the newness of the cypher, probably, or his own want either of patience or precision — or it may be his indifferent knowledge of the French language, exhibits a striking instance of Atterbury's incorrectness in this method of communication. The number 301 which in this cypher represents *de*, should have been 324 *des*; for the word Post, which has a distinct cypher, (616) he has taken the number 619, which signifies *Pos*, omitting the *t* altogether, and gives the final *s* by means of another cypher (657). The representative of the preposition *à* before the word *Paris* has been altogether omitted.

† The Duke had mentioned this Memorial to Atterbury in his letter of

LIX.

To the Duke of Wharton.

My Lord, *October* 1, [1725].

Your letter of September 1, reached me not here till September 29. How that came to pass, and where it staid, I have not yet learned; nor am I very solicitous, having determined (and indeed being obliged) no more to make use of that channel. Last week I sent you a letter according to one of the two addresses I received from Ulich [Rome], and if I find it comes sefely to your hands, I shall write the more freely for the future. In the mean time, permit me to congratulate you upon the successful steps you have hitherto made,* and to wish, as I do most heartily, for your honour and the public good, that the end may be suitable to these beginnings.

the 8th of August, at which time he was as he states "in great confidence with Count Zinzendorf, who is Prime Minister here, and is at present the greatest enemy to George and his family. I shall have the pleasure of delivering a Memorial to the Emperor; to which, I have reason to think, I shall have a favorable answer. As soon as that is over, you shall hear more particularly from me." It is certainly the same as that mentioned by the Duke in his letter to the Pretender, dated August 25, 1725, at which time he had presented but one — and that was not to the Emperor directly, but to his Prime Minister Count Zinzendorf.

* Sir John Græme, who had now joined the Duke of Wharton to supply Sheridan's place, has decyphered the syllabic portion of this letter, and he appears to have experienced no difficulty in the operation, with the exception of this and the preceding word, which, by reason of a blunder in one of the cyphers, he has left unexplained. The entire passage in the original stands thus — 853. 426. 41. 720. 639. 709. 538. Of these numbers the two first only have been interpreted, for the third, not having a place in this particular system, its apppearance seemingly threw Græme off the scent, and he has left the remainder of the passage unattempted. It is however evident, as every other number in the letter is a recognised cypher in the scheme that had but recently been transmitted to the Duke

Permit me only to add a line from an author you love, and which has never the less sense in it, because it is expressed in good language — *Crebro tibi vafer ille Siculus insusurret cantilenam illam suam* (I wont put the Greek, but his brother Quintus's translation of it) — *Nervos atque artus esse sapientiæ, non temerè credere.** Pardon me for supposing that you can have the least occasion for such an hint, after reading those words in your letter, "I shall soon be able to distinguish whether this Court is inclined effectually to serve the King, or whether they will treat with us only to amuse us." I firmly depend upon you in that particular; but beg you, withall, not too soon to fix your opinion, though it should be supported by plain and convincing appearances, for at such a critical juncture, there are sudden ebbs and flows of politics; and a few days time may, in the steadiest Court in the world, produce a change of measures when their steps must (as the case now certainly is) depend upon those of their helpers† [enemies], which are manifestly guided by the necessities

by Atterbury himself, that this is simply another instance of the Bishop's inattention in this mode of corresponding, and that he inserted the number 41 by mistake instead of 421, which number, in connection with the other parts of the cypher, will make the following sentence: — 853 you 426 have 41 [421] hi 720 the 637 r 709 to 538 made.

* This quotation, with a slight alteration for the purpose of better adaptation, is taken from one of Cicero's Epistles to Atticus (Lib. i. Epist. 19). The Greek line of Epicharmus is as follows:—

Νῆφε καὶ μέμνασ' απιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

Atterbury probably thought that he had already given sufficient hints concerning the Duke's great failing, and that it would be more prudent on this occasion to let him refer to the passage itself — if he felt the inclination.

† Both the Syllabic Cypher and the Cypher of Names which Atterbury had settled as the medium of his correspondence with the Duke of Wharton, were used in the composition of this letter. The syllabic portion of it has been decyphered by Sir John Græme; who seems, however, not to have been aware that the Duke had a key for the cant names it contains, for they are, without exception, passed over unexplained, and their interpretation is now for the first time given.

they find themselves under, and will therefore be subject to great variations. One good customer [Ally] added to Harrison [the Emperor] Jerry [France], &c., (particularly Foster) [the Czarine], will turn the scale, inspire new sentiments, and alter the whole scene of affairs: that is, it will change the views of interest, upon which all turns, and will make that seem feasible to-morrow, which to-day seems otherwise. Therefore continue for God's sake, on the spot where you are (at present the most promising of all others) till you find the game absolutely desperate and beyond retrieve—which I hope and believe, you will never find. I know you are well-instructed as to Robinson [the Ostend Company] (a point of great consequence), and therefore shall say nothing on that head. The true light into which you can put that matter, must awaken and inspirit those you have to deal with. On the other point, the Succession, I am no ways instructed myself, and shall therefore be silent. But, methinks, there is one thing so clear, that nobody can miss seeing it. The Hunters [the English] at present hold the balance of Europe. They are not shy of owning it; they boast of it both at home and abroad: nor is it a mere boast, for they say true. If so, what can be plainer, than that, in order to change the balance, there is nothing requisite but changing the hand that holds it. The facility of doing that, is the point to be thought on and laboured. Digest that point well; turn it every way in your thoughts; compare the difficulties and the remedies, neither disguising (to your own mind or to others) the one, nor over-rating the other: in short, convince your own self first, and then I am satisfied, you will be able to convince those, whoever they are, that treat with you.

I question not but by this time, you are well with Wernon [Ripperda]. Through that channel due infusions may be made, where they may prove of good use, and where none will be made (I am sorry to say it) unless by

the means of those who are at a distance. 'Tis true, the spring of the counsels of Walton Abbey [Spain] now lies elsewhere; but the better they are instructed, the more ready they will be to fall in with the measures that shall be contrived for them. Excuse these general reflections: when once I am sure that what is written reaches you safely and unopened, I shall be more particular. Perhaps the other address you sent to Ulick [Rome], will be the most secure. If you think so, tell me, and I will for the future (for the most part at least) make use of it.

Yours to me may be (without any cover to another) as follows — A Mons. Jones, vis à vis la fontaine de Carmelites, Rue de Saint Jacques, pour faire tenir à Mons. Vildoc à Paris.

Rawlinson [Lord Orrery] is to be here by the end of this month. Have you any commands for him which you think it proper for me to impart?

When you write to Paris, postage to the frontiers of France must be paid beforehand; else your letter may lye at the post-house of Vienna, as mine designed for you, did a long while at the Bureau of Paris.

Without further ceremony, Adieu, for the present, and believe me the most respectful and faithful of your humble Servants.

Addressed "A Monsieur Philips," but not endorsed.

LX.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *October* 1, 1725.

I thank you for the sight of Lord Mar's Vindication,

which is a very extraordinary piece. As far as I am acquainted with the matter of it, I find there is not a sincere line in it, from the one end to the other. It appears, I think, that he has not sent the letter with the Scheme to Scotland; which surely should be sent after it, by way of supplement, into both kingdoms; that there may be no room to suppose Mercer's [the King's] privity and consent to so dishonourable and mischievous a proposal. From this step it cannot be doubted, but that he is determined to go further. The publishing those three letters is a sure sign of it, which he would never have done, without a view of going farther lengths. Lord Erskin, therefore, is soon going to Scotland, and Lady Mar to E[nglan]d; and nothing, I dare say, would keep Lord Mar here (for whom an Act of Parliament might be obtained, as well as for Bolingbroke,) but that this is the spot, wherein he can do most mischief, as things now stand, and best earn his appointments. He cannot, indeed, now lay plots in order to reveal them, nor peep anyways into what is doing; but he can raise jealousies and scatter lies among those of Mercer's party here, and by that means break and divide them. And that seems to be the post at present assigned him — a post in which the weakness, resentments, and jealousies of those who wish well to the cause, have rendered him more useful than he ever hoped to be; and given him advantages, which he has made use of with sufficient diligence and malice. But this is a melancholy subject, on which I shall not now further explain myself.

I find his anger all centers in you, Sir, and me; nobody else has the honour of being named as having any share in it. I know well what he means by that distinguishing favour, as far as I am concerned, and how he thinks it will operate; but am very easy and unconcerned as to the consequences of it. He does not really believe what he says

in my respect, to be true; or, if he does, has very bad intelligence. I never was a friend to those little, narrow, interested views, which he mentions, and by which, when in credit, he was entirely guided. I like his example too little to be willing, if I were in any degree able, to follow it. 'Tis natural for him to suspect that in others, which he practised himself; and practised only, because he knew no better, and had no taste of doing good to his King and his country, on any other foot, but that of serving himself by the means of it. I abhor his Maxims and despise his Politics; which if I mistake not, do now run very low, and carry evident marks of his distrusting the game he has hitherto played, and of seeing the necessity he will soon be under, of taking refuge in a new one. The sooner that happens, in my opinion, the better: and it might have been the case ere now, had not some people unwisely and meanly lent him their help towards standing his ground.

I have no material objections to what you have said in your reply, and highly approve the short recapitulation you have made at the end of it. Some little unexactness there is, in what relates to me; but of no consequence. The three letters were signed by three different Cypher names;* and I do not at present remember, whether his designed for me, were directed under any one of them. It

* It is very evident, from Atterbury's observation at the beginning of this paragraph, that Hay, when he forwarded Lord Mar's Vindication to the Bishop, sent also his own remarks upon it; and these have, as clearly, produced the mention in this place of the three letters which Atterbury respectively addressed to the Pretender, Lord Mar, and General Dillon, on the 20th of April, 1722, and which having been intercepted by the Government, caused the Bishop's arrest, trial, and condemnation. The one to James was signed with the cypher 1378; that to Lord Mar, with the name of T. Illington; while Dillon's had that of T. Jones affixed to it. Mar's answer to which Atterbury here alludes, was addressed to him under the name he assumed (Illington) when writing to his Lordship. They are all printed in the APPENDIX to Letter XIII, pp. 11, et seq.

is news to me, that Churchill outrid the post; though it is probable he did, because he came away in a day or two after those letters were intercepted, and was despatched on that very account. The letter he carried from Lord Carteret, &c., put Mar in mind of the favours he had for some years received from K[ing] G[eorge], and of his just expectations that Mar would at that juncture, make him suitable returns: which is a very strong circumstance that deserves not to be hid.

I am not sure that Churchill told Mar, &c., of the interception; but believe he did, because I put it strongly to Lord Mar myself, and he did not deny it. But these things, I suppose, were written to you from hence, at the time; and therefore you have better vouchers for them. There is one thing which I writ to you about his private visits to Churchill, without the privity of Dillon, &c., and of a little note or two left in his bundles, by which I discovered it. I easily guess the reasons why you did not mention it. For myself, I have not had time to consider what is fit to be done by me in the case: nor need I be in haste, after what you have said. Indeed, my frequent and growing infirmities will not suffer me to enter into any long task of that kind; and the restraint Mercer has laid himself under as to furnishing nothing that may tend to accuse Lord Mar (a resolution which I cannot but on many accounts approve), naturally shortens the work; though there be still room enough to show him in miniature, and in his proper colours, if one were not checked a little by reflecting, what use might probably be made of such an attack by those, who, one would expect, should rather join in it. But this must keep cool to another time, that I may have room by this post to answer the rest of your letter.

I have heard at last from Offield [the Duke of Wharton], by a letter of September 1, which reached me not

till the 29th. It came I suppose by Everton's [the Pope's] Falconer [Minister], directed to Finlay [Mr. Murray]: but where it lay so long by the way, I know not. I have written him word, that till I am sure of letters going more speedily and safely, I cannot be very particular with him. However, in general reflections that may be of some use to him, I have not been wanting. One passage of his letter I was pleased with, and verily believe he will be as good as his word. I will give it you in his terms, according to the Cypher he uses. "I shall see Zeno [Count Zinzendorf] again to-morrow even, and shall soon be able to distinguish whether this court be inclined effectually to serve the King, or whether they will treat with us, only to amuse us."

I have begged him, upon this, not to decide too soon, but to wait a little, notwithstanding any unpromising appearances; since at such a juncture, a few days and some new event that may arise, may occasion and render reasonable new resolutions and new measures.

The new alliance you mention, is fact; only Denmark is not in it. It must be observed, how that, and the declarations made by 1116 [England] to Mader [the King of Spain] and Guthry [the Emperor] about the South Sea Article in their treaty, will work: the dose seems to me to be pretty strong; and the patient must be a little lethargic, if it does not operate: unless he waits for some concurring transaction now on the anvil, and forbears to declare himself till it be finished.

I am extremely glad of the resolution Mercer has taken with regard to what he received from Morton's [the King of France's] confessor. 'Tis a step agreeable to his dignity and to his interest: for while they see he will suffer himself to be dealt with, they will certainly deal with him in that manner; and think the little instances of notice they do him in his private affairs, sufficient to induce him to

treat on what foot they please, and can best conceal or disown upon occasion. If I mistake not, in the short account you give me of the Confessor's letter, there are some offers of this kind hinted, and assurances given, in no very becoming a manner. I have heard nothing more of the Cap yet, but am told I soon shall. If I do, and the manner of making that proposal become agreeable, and such as may be relied on, perhaps the King may venture to proceed in it. If I do not, nothing is risqued by what has been hitherto done, and perhaps Dagget [the Bishop of Fréjus] will look upon himself as in some measure obliged, though the thing should go no further.

The truth of Parson's [Don Carlos] journey was assured to me in such strong terms from Spain, and by one that does not use to be positive on the like occasions, that I cannot doubt of its being then intended there, whatever accidents may happen to prevent or delay it.

I am sorry 457. 415. 106. [Riperda] and Roberts [Cardinal Alberoni], are in no better terms, but hope that Offield, now the hint is given him, will pursue it successfully, even without that assistance. I find by his letter, he is intent upon the two points you mention; and hope you have set that of the Ostend Company in a due light to him, because it is a little more out of his way than some other topics are, and yet is, if I mistake not, an argument of peculiar force with those he has to deal with.

Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] pursues Dutton [General Dillon] and Filmore [Duke of Mar] as keenly as decency will admit.* Dutton took refuge in the bundle wherein

* O'Bryen also wrote to Rome at this time; (October 1) and in reference to the seemingly endless subject, here mentioned, enclosed a letter he had lately received from Dillon in answer to one of his own, and observes, "comme je nay pas cru devoir me contenter de cela, je luy ay encore escrit il y a deux jours, par un expres, et luy ay mandé, qu'ayant examiné l'estat quil a donné luy mesme a Mr. Inese des Papiers quil a deposez au College Ecossois, javois

eight nameless papers were inclosed; so, in order to make the charge clear, we were forced to open the box and that bundle: and found some of them indeed the same with those with which Filmore was charged: for the rest, he or Finlay,* remain answerable, or for an account of the manner in which they have disposed of them. I inclose the list† I took of the papers contained in bundle Number 5, which though said to be *nine*, are really but *eight;* one of them not being indorsed, but folded in another, to which it belonged, and separated from it when Finlay [Mr. Murray] opened that bundle, in order, I suppose, to transmit an account of what was contained in it: which therefore I suppose, you already have, and should have transmitted to us. And yet by your charging Filmore still with these very papers, it should seem you have not. Johnsonton, I suppose, will explain this matter more clearly: and give a good account (as I am glad he can) of one of the money affairs; in which it is plain that they should be pressed, since the reason is evident why they are so complying.‡

trouvez quil ny en avoit pas un de ceux que lon desiroit de luy, et qu'ainsy je le priois de vouloir bien examiner tous ces Papiers et que surement il y trouveroit ceux que javois ordre de luy demander. Il ma fait dire quil me feroit reponse aujourdhuy ou demain. Quant a Mr. du Moulin [le Duc de Mar] je nay encore fait auquune démarche sur cequi le regarde, dont je suis tres aise parceque nous avons trouvez dans le paquet No. 5 une partie des Papiers que javois ordre de luy demander. Selon lestat que vous mavez envoyez il me paroit quil ne reste plus entre ses mains, que 4 ou 5 Papiers, que je tacheray de ravoir de luy dans le cours de cette semaine."

* Finlay was a cant name for Mr. Murray, and is here evidently written by mistake for Filmore — Lord Mar.

† Given in the APPENDIX to this Letter.

‡ Concerning which money affair O'Bryen writes (October 1, 1725) "jay remis jeudis passez au Controlleur General la lettre de Mr. Leviston [Le Roy] que Mr. St. Paul [L'Archévêque d'Embrun] avoit jugez apropos que je luy presentasse moy mesme. Apres quelque compliment, il madit, quil escrivoit ce mesme jour a Mr. Boulogne pour faire expedier au nom de Me. Sweetman [La Reine] un contrat sur lhotel de ville, de la somme mentionné dans le

As to Jamieson [the Duke of Ormond] he does not, I believe, expect very long and particular accounts: and, therefore, your trouble in keeping up the correspondence with him, need not be great, so it be repeated more frequently: as he enters into no reasonings with you, he will expect none from you; but short facts only, which he may communicate to those that resort to him, and now and then some which he may be desired not to communicate, but keep to himself. Excuse me for this freedom. I only guess, but am not sure, I am in the right in my conjectures upon it. The Court of Madrid it is plain, are entirely upon the reserve to him; and if he thinks you at Rome are so too, it may a little mortify him. I did not send him your letter which came with the rest, by the Chevalier, because that affair, which was one (and the chief) subject of it, blowing over, I was not willing to enter into the particular reasons of what had happened, with him; nor to state things so largely as was necessary on that

Memoire que St. Paul avoit donné; et que lon tiendroit compte par une ordonnance particuliere, du surplus de linterest du total a raison de 5 pour cent. Je crois, Monsieur, que vous pouvez regarder cette affaire comme finie."

From a preceding letter (September 17) we gather that the amount involved in this negociation was large, and there is reason to believe was eventually allowed by the French Government. "Je fus souvent," he observes, "chez Mr. Bologne au sujet du contrat quil devoit faire expedier. Il me dit pour derniere reponse hier, quil falloit commencer par déposer les Actions de 471 [Le Roy]; apres quoy lon feroit expedier un contrat sur lhotel de Ville pour la somme auquels ils seroient evaluez. Je luy dit que cela montoit a 900,000 livres; a quoy il ma repondus, que lon navoit pas encore determiné la somme, quoyque la chose fut accordé, et que Mr. le Controlleur General devoit ecrire a Mr. demb [d'Embrun] pour luy demander explication sur quelque chose avant que dexpedier le contrat: il ajouta que lon donneroit a Mc. Leviston [La Reine] en forme de pension, deux et demis par cent. de plus, sur la somme que lon conviendroit en contrat, affinque le tout raporta un interest araison de cinq pour cent. Jeveray demain Mr. demb [d'Embrun] avec lequel je concerteray tout cequi reste a faire."

head, in order to inform him of what was past, and therefore needless to be known. So that letter will come back with the rest when Cameron returns; of whom I hear nothing, nor am I displeased that I do not, because he would not probably stay where he is (especially being furnished as he is with a convenience to get off) unless it were to good purpose.

The last Paris Gazette has loaded Lord Seafort terribly, and I believe, designedly. I hear nothing as yet from him, notwithstanding his message. Do you know that one Kennet, a Jesuit, his wife's brother, has the chief credit with him, and is supposed to have influence upon him in the greatest affairs? I have some reason from my observations, to judge that that whole body of men are not the King's friends: and therefore the employing one of them to negociate with him on so nice a point, was the more extraordinary, and should with so much the more caution be guarded against.

I shall not make this long letter any longer, though you might expect something more from me on an article which I have not yet touched. Instead of it, I shall release you for the present, and take leave with my usual assurances, &c.

The Paper I enclose should have been put into cypher, but I am perfectly weary. It appears, upon comparing what you demand of Lord Mar, with those contained in bundle Number 5, that there remain none in his hands of those mentioned by you, but these four — Commission of Major General to Lord L.; Blank Commission to be Lord Lieutenant besouth the River Forth, dated August 31, 1723; — Blank Commission to seize on and be Governor of Edinburgh and Leith, dated ditto; — Warrant of a Knight Baronet of Scotland for Mr. John M'Leod.

Johnsonton has a copy of the Paper inclosed, in order

to solicit the matter. I take none, but send you the original I took.

Addressed "To the Right Honorable the Earl of Invernesse," and endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, Oct. 1, 1725."

LXI.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *October* 8, 1725.

Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] has the two letters. One of them (that to the Bishop of Fréjus) comes seasonably, to give him an opportunity (if he has the courage to make use of it) towards insinuating something of his mind, in his answers to Mercer [the King], which may give the handle desired. I have had a farther account of that matter, and find it sticks at the point of writing:* and if

* On the 9th of October James answered a letter he had received from Atterbury, dated September 24 (not found) — the same that is mentioned in the first paragraph of the one he wrote, on that day, to Lord Inverness (No. LVII). This appears to have been principally devoted to the affair of the Bishop of Fréjus and the Cap; and in reply to it the Chevalier says, "The second of the three things the Duke [de la Force] assures you of in relation to the Bishop of Fréjus, makes it appear very plain to me, that the Duke hath been the promoter of this affair, and that the Bishop doth not care that I should appear in it, and perhaps is unwilling to trust the Duke. You did very right to insist on my wanting what was requisite to induce the Pope to take such a step, and indeed I do not see any motive for me to move in that Affair now, without the Bishop himself directly desires it of me; — so that till I see further into the matter, I can do nothing in it without too great risque, nor can I say more on the subject at present."

It is reasonable to suppose that the ostensible promoters of this scheme, would not have proceeded so far, or indeed have proceeded at all in such an affair, without the consent of him for whom the favor was to be asked; but Fleury,

this incident does not happen to remove the difficulty, I scarce think I shall hear any more of it.

however desirous he might have been to obtain this honour, appears to have been thrown aback by the determination of James not to move in it without a direct application from himself; and here, as Atterbury hints, the affair appears to have stuck. He, however, endeavoured to propitiate the Chevalier by using all his influence at this juncture, to forward a particular negociation, concerning a money arrangement, then pending between James and the French Government, relative to Clementina's jointure; and was moreover particularly gracious to O'Brien, the recognized Agent of James, and the channel through whom all communication between the Chevalier and the French Court, passed. In a letter he forwarded to Rome on the 17th of September, 1725, O'Brien says, "jay vu Mr. de Fréjus qui ma reçu dun air de confiance et de bontes. Vous scavez me dit il dabord, que le controlleur general a ordre de faire delivrer un contrat sur lhotel de ville pour la somme mentioné dans le Memoire qui a esté donné au nom de Mr. Leviston [Le Roy]. Je luy dis que je lavois appris de Mr. demb [l'Archévêque d'Embrun] et que jestois bien persuadé que 471 [Le Roy] devoit a ses bons offices, lexpedition de cet ordre. Jay fait dit il de mon mieux, mais nous sommes ajouta il en haussant les espaules, dans un temps ou je ne puis pas luy estre fort utille. Il faut esperer lui dis je que ces conjonctures changeront: en attendant, cest une consolation bien grande pour Le Roy, davoir des assurances de votre amitiez."

Il me demanda ensuitte si je navois rien de nouveau aluy communiquer de la part de Mr. Sweetman [Le Roy]. Je luy dis que non pour le present; que jestois venus seulement luy faire ma cour, et que jesperois quil trouveroit bon que jeus cet honneur toutes les fois que je viendrois a Fontainbleau. Il ma repondus que je luy feray toujour plaisir. Comme lon vint dans ce moment anoncer Mr. le Nonce, je voulus me retirer, mais il me retint, me disant quil avoit oublier de me dire que Mr. Lavalette [Le Duc de Bourbon] luy avoit promis, il y a pres dun mois, de faire payer a Mr. Leviston, deux quartiers de sa pension echué, et quil ne doutoit pas, que cela ne fut deja expediez. Je pris ensuitte congez de luy." And that O'Brien had no misgivings as to Fleury's sincerity when he accorded the permission mentioned in this extract, to wait upon him, seems clear from the expression he uses in his next communication, dated September 24, 1725, where he observes to Hay "Je vous ay mandé par ma derniere, la façon dont Mr. De la Roche [M. de Fréjus] ma reçeux. Je continueray a lui faire de temps en temps, ma cour. Si javois quelque chose a luy communiquer, jorois toute la facilité possible pour le voir et luy parler."

Respecting the letter to the Bishop of Fréjus here mentioned, O'Brien observes, when writing to Hay on the 8th of October, 1725, "jorois esté a

I have heard nothing from Offield [the Duke of Wharton] since September 1, and I told you how long that lay, before it reached me. I find since, that it was lodged a great while in the hands of the Pope's minister here; but draw no consequence from it. The outward cover perhaps embarrassed him; and so he did not send it soon to Johnsonton. My desire of seeing the Memorial, is only to enable me to form a judgment of Offield's way of thinking, and manner of application, and of the hopes one may have of his succeeding in the future steps he shall make. But that perhaps, as far as it relates to me, may be matter rather of curiosity than use.*

Fontainbleau pour solliciter lexpedition des contrat, si Mr. de St. Paul [L'Archévêque d'Embrun] qui y est allé pour ces propres affaires il y a quelques jours, navoit bien voulus ce charger de ce soin; mais comme Mr. Galiffer [L'Evêque de Rochester] ma remis du depuis, une lettre de Leviston pour M. De la Roche [L'Evêque de Fréjus], cela mengagera dy aller cette semaine."

* The rough draft of this Memorial, in the Duke of Wharton's own hand writing, with Sir John Græme's fair Copy of the same, and Sheridan's French translation, are all in the Collection. It is drawn up with great tact and ability, but, as may be readily imagined, is a one-sided view of the points it embraces — take for example the following extract relating to Atterbury. "The Ministry determined to accomplish the destruction of the Bishop of Rochester, whose eloquence and power among the Clergy and the two Universitys, rendered him an obstacle to their wicked designs, invented the new method of Bills of Pains and Penaltys. No evidence could be brought to support the charge suggested against that Prelate; but letters were produced, said (without proof) to be wrote by his order, pretended to be justly decyphered, without producing the key, and alledged to be stopt at the Post Office, without permitting an examination on that head: thus fell that great man by forc'd constructions and improbable inuendos. There are many cruel circumstances in that memorable affair, as may be seen in the Protests of the House of Lords, and by this terrible method of punishing by laws *ex post facto*, and built upon the foundation of injustice, the greatest Subjects of England have no security in innocence, but may at any time, be sacrific'd to the fury of the predominant Faction. The Prince upon the throne whose consent was necessary to the passing this law, and consequently sate in the nature of a judge, condemn'd a Bishop of the Church of England to banishment and confiscation, without inquiring into the state of the fact, or hearing any thing in behalf of the accus'd person. The Bishop's

However that may be, the Court of Zilling [Vienna] seems to be at present, the chief (if not the only) object that deserves reflection. Perkins [Captain Hay], I fear, will bring no good news from Petersburg. Bestucheff's going to England and Dunbarton to Sweden, portends none: this being one of the preliminaries on which the late Czar insisted, in order to an accommodation, when France pressed it so warmly upon him. I wish Cameron may be more fortunate in his Affair: but doubt it, by reason of Lord Seafort (who has good intelligence from thence) not keeping his word with me. One thing the last post brings from Spain, which seems a little encouraging, though no use of that kind be made of it in the letter that brings it: — the Duke of Ormond has hired a house in the neighbourhood of Ildefonso, that he may be always there when the court is. If this be by direction, it means something.

Parsons' [the Infant Don Carlos] going to Zilling [Vienna], is a circumstance I was not acquainted with: I suppose (if so) he takes it in his way towards Florence, where France is at present, very busy. Dunbar's [France] marching Watkins [troops] into Dauphiny gives no alarm here, nor is it allowed to be true, in such a manner as to deserve notice. It may be true for all that, for the people here are most contentedly and merrily ignorant in such cases.

I am glad the Prince of Wales takes the change of hands so easily. 'Tis an early and a promising sign of manly and noble inclinations: which every year to come, I hope, will verify.*

penaltys are most severe, and the more heavy that it is felony, which requires but one witness to convict, for any person whatsoever to correspond with him without a Sign Manual; neither can the Crown pardon him."

* Hay's letter containing the information to which this observation is a reply, has not been found; but the circumstance is confirmed in one written

The news you sent me on that head, has not, for a long time, been news here. It was known (all but the particular tittle of Dunbar) before Finlay [Mr. Murray] left this place; and from those to whom Mercer's, and his own letters on that head were communicated by him: though the first letter of Mercer, I remember, directed that the secret should be strictly kept. Perhaps, he might have leave afterwards to impart it. However that be, he was not three days gone from hence, when it was the public discourse of all the English at Paris; not as a conjecture, but a certainty. Filmore [the Duke of Mar] in particular, spoke of it freely and with assurance — you may imagine, after what manner. I wish this had been the only instance, wherein matters, which should have been hid carefully and stifled in the birth, were made public, to the great detriment of Mercer's Affairs, as will soon appear, when I have ease and health enough to put some facts in a proper light; which, though an ungrateful work, yet must be done. At present I am so tormented with the pains of the stone, as not to be able to go through with it. Perhaps by the succeeding posts, you may have less employment for me, and I less pain and more leisure.

What I said to you in P[anto]n's melancholy case,* I was in hopes would have had some effect; having never interposed for any person besides him. Though I think him very capable of discharging some commissions of consequence, yet I know not at present where and how he can be employed in that manner: of which Mercer is the best and only judge; and to him I leave it — being not used to press any thing I offer, after I

by James himself to the Bishop (September 25, 1725) wherein he acquaints him that "The Prince has left the women without concern, and will, I hope, now improve faster than he could have done amongst them."

* See Note, page 254.

have once received an answer, which shews it is not welcome. I am,

Sir,

Your ever faithful and most

Obedient Servant.

Since the writing this, I received a letter, which I shall inclose,* to save myself the trouble of transcribing it. It comes from one Lochyel, who, I suppose, will write more fully to you himself. However for fear he should not, I send what I have received from him, after tearing off the name and the ceremonious part.

[The endorsement intended for the above letter is written at the back of a separate Paper, by which it was enveloped, and which it evidently accompanied. This Paper contains the following reflections on certain portions of Mar's Vindication, an Abstract of which Atterbury had recently received from Hay.]

I observe Filmore [the Duke of Mar] in his Narrative has brought in Norton [General Dillon] (with his own consent I suppose) for a share of every thing: but Cumming [Lord Lansdown] is covered; and his name concealed, even where the letter of August 13, 1722, with

* A Letter from one of the Locheill family (there is one in the same hand writing in the collection, dated from St. Germains, January 24, 1724, and signed J. Camerone) then in Paris, concerning his relative Allan Cameron, and his expedition into Scotland. The portion enclosed in Atterbury's Letter is as follows: "Not doubting but your Lordship would be satisfied to have some account of my friend, I take the libertie to inform you that I received a letter from a sure hand by the last post, by which I understand he only arrived where he designed, about the twentie-sixth of August. He says nothing as to his busines, only that he hopes his journey will not prove unsuccesfull. If I get any further accounts, I shall not faill to aquent your Lordship. In the mean time I embrace with pleasure this occasion of asuring your Lordship that I am, &c."

which Cumming must have furnished him, is produced. When I had the twelve bundles* in my hands (as I had for seven or eight days) I might have copied what I would: for I was under no restraint from the person who communicated them to me. But I should not have thought it honourable, without his express leave, to have taken full copies or made observations in writing upon them; and therefore I have little of that kind to produce but by memory only. But sure I am, I read several letters, writ not only in January, 1720, recommending a zealous interposition for procuring to Mercer [the King], in a private but sure manner, an ample subsistance from 1332 [the Duke of Hanover] at the close of the treaty. This I take to be the worst and most dangerous step that ever Filmore made; and which, if he could have compassed it, would have recommended him most to his friends on the other side: and methinks it should be cleared, if there be no objections (which do not appear) against entering farther into it. For let him slide over it as he pleases, it was impossible that Payment should have continued a secret: and when it appeared, it would have been understood as an equivalent agreed upon and accepted, in lieu of the right of possession: nor could any other reasonable interpretation have been made of it. And therefore he would well have deserved his own Pension (which he received in part about that time) could he have procured this also, which might have been attended with such consequences for another. I mistook in thinking the Letter was not sent to Scotland with the Scheme. That appears not by the Abstract of the Narrative; but by a marginal note only, which I overlooked. All this I write in pain; and therefore not perhaps with as much clearness as I ought to do:

* The twelve bundles of Letters and other Papers which Mar placed in the Bishop's hands for examination, on his first arrival in Paris. See Letters XIX. and XX. and the APPENDIX, page 37.

and I must cease to add some other reflections. I have not shewed the Paper itself: but have owned it to several, my knowledge of such a Paper transmitted to Sc[otlan]d, wherein Filmore to vindicate himself, has ventured to publish several letters of Mercer: a step which, if I mistake not, even 825 [Lord Bolingbroke] himself, when he was under his keenest resentments, did not think fit to take.

There can be no doubt but that all 1627 [the Duke of Mar] has writ, passed the view of the Triumvirate.

The following Endorsement [by James Edgar] was written on the back of this Paper, which enclosed the preceding Letter." Bishop of Rotchester, October 8th, 1725."

LXII.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *Paris, October* 15, 1725.

I see not any thing in yours of September 26. which requires an answer. However, my pains not being very troublesome to me to-day, I make use of the post, to say what offers on the subject of your letter, and on some other occasions. Indeed I promised Johnsonton [Daniel O'Brien] who is gone to Fontainbleau (you guess on what errand) to excuse his not writing by this post; though perhaps, he may return soon enough this evening, to speak for himself.

You may remember the thoughts I had of 1513 [Prince Kurakin's] turn. A late conversation that 1772 [Colonel O'Brien] had with him, has verified them: for therein Methuen [Prince Kurakin] frankly affirmed his opinion, that the true interest of 1664 [Muscovy] was, and is, to

be in strict alliance with 1116 [England] and 1190 [France]: and this he said with such an air, as shewed, that he not only hoped this would soon be the case, but thought he himself has been instrumental in promoting it: as I verily believe, he has been, and will remarkably be, whenever it happens.* He has the secret of his Court. The other rather speaks his wishes, than from any sound knowledge, or judgment of affairs: though I agree that his acquaintance, nevertheless, is not to be neglected, provided his opinions be not depended on. He has been out, in every one of them, as well as in most of his representations of fact, during this whole summer. If Bestucheff goes to England, &c. as the Paris Gazette peremptorily says, that point is, in my apprehension, decisive, and all the rest will probably follow. And should that new alliance take place, I doubt, it would so far intimidate 1093 [the Emperor], as to make him lay aside all thoughts of quarrelling. Every stone is moved to bring 1364 [the States of Holland] into the same measure: but they are wary, and take very slow steps in the case. However, at

* Between the period of writing this letter and the 12th of November, when O'Brien gives an account of a subsequent conversation with Kourakin, affairs seem to have taken such a turn, as not a little to embarrass the Russian Minister, who declared that it appeared extremely uncertain to him whether they would result in Peace or War. And "apres mavoir ensuitte," observes O'Brien, "fait des protestations du sincere attachement quil avoit pour Mr. Leviston [Le Roy], il ma dit que le meilleur conseil quil pouvoit luy donner dans cette conjoncture, estoit de rester tranquille, et de ne faire auquun pas vers auquune puissance; mais dattendre que ce feux qui commence a salumer, deviene plus grand, et que pour lors, il trouvera bien des Princes qui le rechercheront avec soin. Je luy ay dit que cestoit le partis quil avoit pris, et quil y avoit long temps quil navoit fait auquun Pas que ceux quil sçavoit avoir esté fait vers Mᵉ. de Beaufort [La Czarine], sur lamitiez de laquelle il fondoit toujour beaucoup desperance."

"Par tout cequil ma dit," adds O'Brien, "et par toutes les amitiez quil ma faistes, je conçois aisement quil voit les choses dans un autre jour, quil ne faisoit, il y a trois semaines."

present they seem a little to lean that way, for the sake of the 1784.991 [Ostend Company] and the affair of 545. 454. 355 [Thorn]. If they dip themselves, it will be upon very sure grounds, and when they foresee the success of the game, without running hazards or spending money. And therefore, while they are in suspense which way to turn, we may judge that it is not very clear, which side has the advantage.

The Paper * you speak of, 1993 [Lord Seafort] (who has

* The Paper here alluded to, must certainly mean the copy of General Wade's letter to Locheill, printed in the note on page 280, which appears to have been forwarded to Paris in Allan Cameron's letter to Atterbury, dated September 11, 1725, and was, together with the letter itself, and one it enclosed for the Chevalier, transmitted to Rome by the Bishop.

Cameron's letter to Atterbury gives a detail of many things that had occurred since his arrival in Scotland, particularly of what related to the disarming of the Clans. "Immediately after I landed," he tells the Bishop, "I found some of my friends, who informed me that my nephew and my youngest brother, who were charged with the affairs of their country at present, were at Inverness with the General; as were all the leading men of the Highlands, by a call from the said General, especially those of the McKenzies. Upon which I sent an express for one of my nephews, who came to me without losse of tyme, and gave me a full accompt of what was a doing ther, and of the state of the country in general. That the General told them, that he hoped they would give up their arms chearfully, in obedience to the lawse of the kingdome, and the like. They answered that they had few or no arms, having given up so many formerly. How soon they returned all, ther was a day apointed for summoning all the countrys about, to give in their arms the 13th of this moneth, at Inverlochy: and General Wade writt a letter to my eldest nephew here, dated the first instant, at Inverness, that the McKenzies had chearfully delivered him the arms of that Clan; and hoped he and others would follow so good ane example, in giving in their men's arms at Inverlochy, where he would be to receive them."

Cameron also further observes, "My nephew who was at Inverness, told me he met ther with one McKenzie who was at Paris with My Lord Seaforth when I was there, and who My Lord Seaforth had sent to treat with General Wade and his other friends, about his affaires. This McKenzie told my nephew fully, what pass'd amongst us with the Bishop when I was at Paris, as My Lord Seaforth was pleas'd to tell him; but with some difference in facts: and likewise that he believed I was in Scotland by that tyme. My nephew answered, that could not be, otherways he must have known of it.

made me two several visits in one day) says is a fiction, not being subscribed. I do not perfectly credit him, knowing in what state of mind he is, and how well disposed to that side of the question. And yet it has not made noise enough, either abroad or at home, or been followed with such consequences as it would have been, if abetted by numbers. It does not appear by the proceedings of 581.138 [General Wade] (ever making some abatements for Lord Seafort's representation of them) that any great regard has been paid to it. What I sent you last post* shows that we can scarce expect 71.328.472 [Allan Cameron] yet a while: but when he comes, we shall know all; and till he comes, we shall know nothing surely. Lord Seafort's sister, a lady of an excellent character, is fixed in my neighbourhood; and therefore I reckon, I shall see him sometimes. At present nothing has passed between us of moment, beside gentle reproaches on one side, and

Upon which McKenzie said, if I was not, I must have returned to Rome, for that I was not at Paris when he left it."

In reference also to Lord Seafort and the negociation he was then carrying on with the Government for his return to Scotland, we further learn from this letter that Cameron "sent for a person of merite and intelligence to Invernesse who," he observes, "met me in a convenient place, tho' within a few myles wher General Wade and part of his Troops lay. He told me amongst a great many other things too tedious to mention here, that it was generally believed My Lord Seaforth would have his Peace and come home by February or March next. The Government have already forgiven the bygone rents of his estate. Notwithstanding of all this, in the accounts I give to those with whom my business is here, I give as smooth a turn as I can, to the part he acted at Paris concerning the Project then in hand; still shewing them that it was by his means, and by the orders he gave his men, that the affair faill'd."

* A letter from Allan Cameron to James; Cameron's letter to Atterbury himself, mentioned in the preceeding Note; and General Wade's letter to Locheill. In the Postscript to the letter to Atterbury, Cameron tells the Bishop "I shall not trouble you with a repetition of what I have writt inclosed [i. e., in the letter to James] which if you please to take the trouble to peruse, I hope will satisfy as to my stay much longer than I expected, and then please forward it to the King."

lame excuses on the other, with faint protests of future service.

I have not heard a word from Offield [the Duke of Wharton] since 223.234.326 [Græme] joined him. His last letter to me was of September 1. I have written three to him since, and one or two before, of which I have no manner of account that they came to hand; and suspect therefore that there may be some foul play, and shall cease writing, till I am very sure of the contrary.*

There is one remarkable omission in Filmore's [the Duke of Mar] Paper, of an Article on which I laid great stress, in my conversations with him, after I had seen his Papers. It was that of a 1311.264.107.326.358.570 [General Indemnity] which he professedly laboured in several

* The Duke of Wharton in a letter he wrote on the 15th of September, 1725, to Mr. J. Thomson [the Earl of Inverness] also expressed great misgivings as to the fate of the letters he forwarded to Atterbury. "I have," he observes, "wrote four letters to the Viscount [the Bishop of Rochester] and sent them in Quin's [the Nuncio's] packet; but we have heard no news of them, which makes both Quin and me aprehend that they have been opened. I am under great uneasyness on this head, because the Cypher went in one of them, and I have transmitted to him a very fair relation of my situation at this Court. I shall forbear writing any more to Paris, till I am secure our correspondence is not intercepted; and I thought it was proper to give you this notice, that you may be upon your guard, as well as myself." In his next letter, however, (September 22) he informs Hay that "I have since my last, received a letter from the Viscount, by which I find mine from hence have been duly delivered to him: but, however, I cannot but be of opinion, that great caution should be used in writing to Salisbury [Paris], for it is certainly in the power of the French to intercept a correspondence, and the consequence might be fatal." He seems to have imagined that Atterbury would be uneasy at not hearing from him more frequently; and, as we find by the following extract from a letter addressed to Mr. Bouchier [James] on the 29th of September, requested that he might be informed of the real cause. "The Nuncio," he states, "is of opinion that his Packet from hence to Paris is not very secure, for which reason I dare not be so open with the Viscount as I would otherwise be; which I hope may be mentioned to him from Ulich [Rome] that he may not blame me for my shyness."

of them to procure, and that at distant periods of time: which I told him plainly would strip Mercer [the King] of all the friends he had on this side of the water. He has forgot that part of his charge and slipt it over, I believe the rather, because the 1116 [English] Falconer [Minister] 1407 [here] has during this Summer, talked freely and openly of it, as a thing intended; and Filmore would not be found speaking the same language, lest it should be thought to have been by concert between them—as in my conscience, it is, if the Falconer [Minister] be sincere in what he says.

I have heard nothing from Jamieson [the Duke of Ormonde] the two last posts; and when I did hear, the post before, it was nothing. What I writt about his taking an house, was from another man's letter, whom I take to be a correspondent of Finlay's [Lord Dunbar].

That name puts me in mind of telling you, that I shall by this post or the next, write to Mercer about his late usage of me; * the inferences the world draws from it; and

* It must be a matter of surprise, after the repeated expression of his wish that nothing more should be said on the subject of his difference with Murray, to find Atterbury again opening that affair, and, seemingly, determined to pursue it. His threatened letter to the Chevalier was certainly sent, although it does not appear to have been preserved; but we may glean some little information as to the nature of its contents, from other portions of the correspondence.

There exists the rough draft of a letter from O'Brien (October 22, 1725) by which some insight into the Bishop's feelings and wishes may be obtained; for he there informs Hay (to whom the letter is addressed) "Il (Atterbury) envoit par cet ordinaire au Roy, une plainte en forme contre M. D. [My Lord Dunbar]. Jay fait tout ceque jay pu pour lengager a laisser tomber la chose. Je luy ay demandé quel pouvoit estre son but, et luy ay representé la peine que cela feroit au R[oy], de voir toutes ces tracasseries dans le temps quil le croyoit finie par leurs separation. Il ma repondus quil vouloit que le R[oy] luy rendit justice de M. D. et que sil ne le faisoit pas, il tireroit aisement ses consequences, ne verons jamais que des tracasseries; pour moi je les habore:" and on the 29th of the same month he again writes to Hay and says "Gaiffer [L'Evêque de Rochester] me parle depuis quelques jours comme sil ne contoit plus se

the use, I think, it becomes me to make of it. I have stayed thus long, to give myself and him, time, coolly to

meller alavenir des affaires de Mr. Leviston [Le Roy]. Sans vous ennuyer de tout ceque jay pu ou cru luy lavoir dire la dessus, je vous rendray seulement compte de ce quil ma dit ; qui est, quil croit ne pouvoir plus, avec honneur, se charger dauquune affaire, si 471 [Le Roy] ne luy rendoit justice, de la façon dont my [My Lord] Dunbar lavoit traité. Je luy ay dit que je croyois cette affaire asoupie, et que quelques expression dont il sestoit servy dabord en parlant a My Dunbar, en avoit attirez dautre; a quoy il ma repondus, quil estoit inutille den parler davantage, parcequil avoit pris son partis. Je luy ay demandé ensuitte quelle justice il pretendoit que 471 luy rendit, il ny a, me dit il, quune seule façon de me la rendre, que je ne souhaitte pourtant pas, ajoutail, car Leviston en me la faisait, ce feroit tort dun autre costé."

Hay acknowledged the receipt of these two letters on the 14th of November, but neither in this reply nor in either of the above letters of O'Brien, is there any expression to raise a suspicion that the difference Atterbury is now speaking of, is other than the quarrel of which the first intimation was forwarded to Rome in his letter to Hay, dated April 30, 1725 (No. xxxiii) ; and yet from a passage in one which James himself wrote to Atterbury on the 2d of November, and which is exclusively devoted to this subject, it would seem to be some ill feeling either engendered or strengthened since that event. Could this arise from Murray's appointment to the post he now occupied? Such a suspicion may flash across the reader's mind on perusing what James has written ; from certain expressions in some of Atterbury's own letters, particularly the preceding one; and from the Bishop's known jealous and uneasy disposition, which may have led him to expect that the Governor of the Prince should have been none other than himself.

The letter of James to Atterbury above mentioned, is couched in the kindest terms, and is strongly indicative of the tenderness and deference with which the Chevalier was always inclined to treat him ; and gives a complete denial to all those assertions which caused the feeling, so generally and dexterously spread and believed even to the present time, that he was treated by James and his Agents, with neglect and want of confidence. Every thing that has transpired in the course of this correspondence, from the date of his first letter to the period of the one now under consideration, proves that nothing can be further from the truth; and if at any subsequent period, an alteration in James' feeling did really take place (which is not believed) we may not unreasonably suppose that it arose more from Atterbury's peculiarly domineering and quarrelsome temper, rather than from any particular waywardness or fickleness of James; who in a subsequent letter (November 19, 1725) thus expresses himself

reflect on what has passed. How it sits upon him, I know not, nor am I curious to know: but for my part, the more I think of it, the less I like it.

I am very sensible of your great and continued civilities to me, which I shall upon all occasions acknowledge, and ever remain,

Sir,

Faithfully and respectfully yours.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, Oct. 15th, 1725."

LXIII.

[This and the three following letters, are not in Atterbury's hand writing. He appears to have been still labouring under the severe attack mentioned in O'Brien's letter to Hay, dated November 12, 1725, where it is stated that "Galiffer [L'Evêque de Rochester] est tres incomode depuis quelques jours et nest pas en estat descrire par cet ordinaire."]

To Colonel Daniel O'Brien.

Sir, *Saturday Morning, December* 1, 1725.

I return your letter, some parts of which I do not under-

towards his irritable Servant, when writing on this very topic, "I have not yet had time to peruse the Papers you refer me to in yours of the 22d October; since which I have also that of the 29th. What hath now happened here" (he had been previously speaking of the conduct of Clementina) "will make all other matters be forgot; and I hope there will be no further occasion to mention disputes amongst friends, when we have but too much to do to guard against the contrivances of our common enemies; and tho' you think yourself unable to apply so much to business as formerly, I am sure you won't refuse giving Mr. Daniel O'Bryan all the lights and assistance you can; and continuing to forward on all occasions my service as much as in you lyes. You know my great regard for your advice, and my singular esteem for your person; and therefore my kindness for you and confidence in you can never alter nor diminish, no more than your sincere attatchment to me."

The Chevalier's letter of the second of November above mentioned; together with that of Hay to O'Brien, are given in the APPENDIX to this letter.

stand; and would together with it, have sent you mine, but that it is impossible for me at present to decypher it. I have also inclosed the Paper,* of which you are to have a copy, though I cannot see how you can, at present, take it. If you cannot, I desire, after perusing it, you would return it again to Mr. Morice,† sealed up, as it comes to you: for I shall have a particular occasion for it in two or three hours' time, and you shall have it again when you please. 'Tis of consequence you and I should see one another, if it were possible. 'Tis certain I can't come to you.

I am

Your ever faithful and obedient Servant,

F. R.

Endorsed [by O'Brien] "L. de levesque du p^r. de^bre, 1725."

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* It seems probable from the wording of this letter, that O'Brien had shewn to Atterbury the one he had received from Hay, dated November, 14, and printed in the APPENDIX to the preceding letter. The reader will perceive that Hay there refers to a Paper he had, by the same post, sent to the Bishop, concerning the misunderstanding between James and Clementina. In a Postscript to this letter (not printed in that Appendix) Hay tells O'Brien, "Mr. Leviston [the King] desires you may communicate the Paper I have mentioned in my other letter, of which you are to take a copy from Gallifer to my Lady Sandwige as to a person Mr. Leviston has a particular esteem for;" and which seems clearly enough to point out the Paper here mentioned. O'Brien in one of his subsequent letters, gives Lady Sandwich's views on the subject of the difference between James and Clementina, by informing Hay (December 17, 1725) "jay vu M. Sandwich qui ma exprimé dans les termes les plus fort, son zelle et son attachement pour Le Roy: elle est tres touchez du partis qu'a pris la Reyne, mais elle est de sentiment que lon regarderoit comme une foiblesse au Roy, sil acquiessoit a ses voluntés dans les choses essentielles; comme celle de rien changer dans larrangement quil apris pour ladministration des ses affaires, ny dans les personnes quil a honnorez de sa confiance, et quil a choysy pour cela; mais quen tout autre occasion de moindre consequence, elle croyoit que S. M. pouvoit se pretter a la contenter sans engager son honneur en rien, et que lon ne devroit rien negliger pour luy faire entendre raison et pour la rameiner par la voye de la douceur"

† His Son in Law.

LXIV.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *Paris, December* 17, 1725.

I am not yet able to use my hand, and have therefore made use of another's in the inclosed, rather than continue totally silent. But that relating only to the domestic affairs of Mercer [the King] which have here made such a noise as to be no longer in any respect or degree a secret to any body, I thought I might take a greater liberty in using a secretary on that head, than on some others which have lately made part of the subject of your letters; especially since things lying as they did, no new reflections seem necessary. You'll excuse me therefore for not entering into any thing of that kind, and believe me, with my usual respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Raboure.

Endorsed [by James Edgar] "Bishop of Rotchester, December 17th, 1725."

[The communication mentioned in the above letter as being therein enclosed for James, has not been found; and this is the more to be regretted as it would, doubtless, have presented Atterbury's observations upon the Papers that had been forwarded to him concerning the differences at this time existing between James and his Consort, and which had now become the common topic of conversation at Paris.

Atterbury had recently received very full accounts of the

progress of this misunderstanding, from Hay; but on the 19th of November James himself wrote to announce to him, Clementina's retirement to the Convent of Sta. Cicilia. "Lord Inverness inform'd you last post," he says, "of a very extraordinary scene that was then acting in my family, and which was concluded on last Thursday morning, by the Queen's retiring, with Lady Southesk, into the Convent of Sta. Cicilia. The papers you will receive with this, will set in its true light to you, this most extravagant and unaccountable affair: and though the injury the Queen has done me, is of the highest nature both in itself and by its consequences, yet I cannot but lament her misfortune; for it is manifest that she has been drove, or rather forced into her own ruin, by the malice, violence, and imprudence of those enemies who, finding all other endeavours fruitless, have now made a last effort to engage me into measures destructive to my interest."

After glancing at Mar's behaviour, and stating that the Queen's motives "all center in matters quite out of a wife's sphere, and entirely subservient to the Duke of Mar's projects," he adds, "I am persuaded it will be your care to set this unfortunate affair in its true light to such of my well-wishers as you converse with; and though the malice of my enemies is great, it is plain it must in a very short time, retort against themselves; since it must appear to the whole world, that neither the tears nor threats of a wife whom I had solely loved, could prevail upon me to act in the least tittle against my honour or real interest."

That Atterbury did take the care here expected of him, we have the testimony of O'Brien, who in one of the two letters he wrote to Rome on this day (December 17) tells Hay, "Le rolle que Galliffer [L'Évêque de Rochester] joue en tout cecy et [est] de justifier Le Roy sur son procedé avec la Reyne; de blamer les hausseurs des pernitieux conseils sugerez a cette Princesse, faisant assez

entendre que Lavalin [Le Duc de Mar] et sa clique y ont beaucoup de part; mais il passe tres legerement sur cequi regarde Mr. de la Chartre [Lord Inverness] et 528 [Lord Dunbar], et soufre, sans replique, tous les discours que lon tient la dessus. Pour moy, Monsieur, lon ne men tient nul, parceque lon scait que je ne les soufrirois pas; mais je suis assez bien informé de tout cequi se passe. Galiffer ma mesme dit, que je me trouvois le seul des sujets du Roy qui prenoit le partis de ces Messieurs." This last observation is mere cant, and quite unworthy of O'Brien, who said it, seemingly, to curry favour with Hay, in consequence of some service the latter had promised to render him, by soliciting the Chevalier's recommendation to the French Government for the next presentation to a vacant Colonelcy.

No event in James' life (and Lockhart calls it "perhaps the most critical step of it") has called forth more animadversion or indeed vituperation, than this untoward affair. But it must not be forgotten that this was done, solely, by the faction that contrived and fostered it, and by those whom it could mislead. The real friends of the Chevalier, and those who knew the real facts of the case, while they all, indeed, seriously lamented the circumstance as tending materially to damage his interests, readily acquitted him of the calumnies that had been so industriously circulated concerning his brutal conduct and unbridled licentiousness: yet so firm a hold have these scandalous fabrications taken upon the minds of men, that we find them commonly accepted as acknowledged truths, or stated as undisputed facts of grave history.

There is every reason to believe that the whole affair originated in Mar's hatred of Hay, engendered by his own schemes being detected and baffled, and himself laid open to the scorn of all parties. It was (as may have been seen in the notes to this Volume) Mar's avowed object for some

considerable time before he himself was dismissed, to obtain Hay's removal from about the person of the Chevalier; but in this he had hitherto, signally failed. However, the appointment of Governor to James' son, being now given to a Protestant, and one whom he also hated, and had succeeded in removing, formerly, from the Pretender's Court, seemed to offer a favourable opportunity to enlist Clementina's religious prejudices on his side. In this he was ably seconded by the old and inveterate intriguer, Cardinal Alberoni, and, we may be sure, by every Papist, from the Bishop of Rome himself to the most insignificant Romanist in James' household.

The Chevalier's own letters will present the most fitting opportunities for the elucidation of this particular period of his domestic history, and little more need, therefore, be said of it here, than to observe, that James displayed throughout the whole of this painful transaction, a kindliness of feeling and a desire of forgetting the strange conduct of Clementina, that does him infinite honour; — at the same time that he exhibited a firmness of purpose, the more extraordinary, perhaps, as it was generally supposed to be a qualification not the most predominant in his character. This latter point will appear sufficiently clear by the following extract of a letter he wrote to Atterbury on the 5th of December. "The Queen continues still in the Convent without giving me any mark of repentance or submission. This court at first saw clearly the unreasonableness of the Queen's insisting on Lord Inverness's removal; but they are now endeavouring to remove Lord Dunbar from my son. The Pope sent to tell me that if he were removed, and Mrs. Sheldon taken back into favour, that he hoped matters might be made up between the Queen and me: that what he said of Mrs. Sheldon was only by way of entreaty, but as for Lord Dunbar, that he could not approve nor consent to his being about

my son. To which I replied — that I had no occasion for the Pope's consent or advice in an affair which concerned my private family. It has been talked in town, as if the Pope might take from me the pension he gives me; but neither threats of this kind, nor any want of regard the Pope may shew me, will induce me to alter my conduct; and will only serve to afford me an opportunity of shewing my subjects, that nothing can make me alter a conduct which I think right and just." Atterbury took fire at this attempt to force James into the measures of the Court of Rome; for we find O'Brien in his next communication to Hay (December 24, 1725) stating that "La derniere proposition du Pape, reveille entierement Galiffer. Comme la brouillerie roulle a present sur la religion, il prend les choses bien plus a cœur quil ne faisoit."

Such as regarded Murray, was the drift of the Bishop of Rome and his co-religionists. The other object — that for which Mar and his party more particularly fomented this intrigue — was the removal of Hay, who, it was pretended, absorbed the whole influence of the little Court to which he was attached. That Hay's fidelity, which had been long tried and never yet found wanting, should have induced James to place in him the unlimited confidence he did, is not surprising, any more than that such confidence should be regarded with envy by many of those who did not share it; but nothing that has yet appeared, shows that he used this influence for other than the service of his master, and for what he considered the most legitimate of objects. It was indeed this singleness of purpose, that caused the storm to be pointed against him: but neither in his case nor that of Murray, was Clementina more than the instrument used by these designers to accomplish their purposes. O'Brien very sensibly observes in one of the two letters he despatched to Rome on the 24th of December, that "Le Pape se conduit fort singulierement

dans cette occasion. Sa derniere demarche me paroit pourtant tres avantageuse au Roy, en cequil fait voir a tout le monde que la Reyne na pas eu de meilleure raisons pour authoriser sa retraitte, que celle du Gouverneur Protestant; ainsy tout roulle a present sur les motifs de religions, et poient sur les mauvais procedez que nont seulement servis que de pretexte. La fermeté de S. M. dans cette conjoncture luy fera surement beaucoup d'honneur, et je ne doute nullement que tout cecy ne fasse avec le temps, leffet en 244 [Angleterre] que lon peut desirer."]

LXV.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *Paris, December*, 24, 1725.

I am not able yet to continue so long in a sitting posture,*

* This illness of Atterbury seems to have been a long and a severe one; for he was suffering from it when he wrote his letter to Hay dated September 17, and he appears not to have had any, or very little, cessation from pain, from that period to the present. At one time indeed his illness appeared so alarming, that James thought it prudent to take the same step he adopted in the early part of this year (1725), when he forwarded instructions to Murray to seize all the Bishop's papers in case of his death. In the present instance the letter (dated, October 2, 1725), was addressed to O'Brien and was almost a literal transcript of that given in the note on page 121. It was forwarded to Paris by Hay, enclosed in the following one of his own to the same person.

Sir, *Albano, Oct.* 3, 1725.

You'll find here inclosed ane authority from the King which I am hopefull you won't have occasion to use. However His Majesty has thought proper to lodge it in your hands, to prevent the inconveniences that might happen without it; and it is His Majesty's intention, that you should not discover

as the writing even a short letter will require, and therefore must still use another hand, which will in some respects be a restraint upon me; but I have written so fully to Mercer [the King] in the inclosed that I need not say anything further on those heads to you.

I am not of opinion that he will hear from the three persons you mention,* on the present state of Affairs. One

unnecessarily, to any one, your having such a Paper in your possession. I am with all truth,

Sir,
Your most Obedient,
and most humble Servant,
INVERNESS.

The receipt of these letters was acknowledged on the 22nd of the same month, and in his reply O'Brien appears to have been quite alive to the necessity of keeping the power with which he was invested, a secret from Atterbury, who, he was sure, would feel extremely offended at these precautions, were he to be made acquainted with them.

We have already seen what information he transmitted to Rome on the subject of Atterbury's state of health, in his letter of the 12th of November, and on the 17th of the following month he wrote as follows, " Galiffer vient de menvoyer sa lettre que je joins icy. Il me prie de faire valoir dans lestat ou il est, [et] la peine quil a eu pour lescrire. Veritablement je le tiens fort mal, car il a surement la piere, et a une jambe ouverte, dou il sort tous les jours, de la craye, cequi loblige de se tenir toujours sur le dos."

* There is great reason to believe that this passage alludes to Lord Mar, Lord Lansdown and General Dillon. We know from Atterbury's Letter of September 17, (No. LVI.) that Lord Lansdown was then going, or gone, to the sea-side; and a passage in one of O'Brien's Letters of the 24th of December, brings to our knowledge the fact that some proposition of this nature must have been forwarded to Rome, for it was from thence that the information came which Lady Sandwich imparted to him. " Me. de Brillaq [Lady Sandwich]" he tells Hay " ma dit hier, quelle avoit vu une lettre de Rome dun des sujets du Roy, qui mandoit quil falloit dans cette occasion que Lavalin [Le Duc de Mar], Djuerny [General Dillon] et 507 [Lord Lansdown] offrissent a Galiffer [L'Evêque de Rochester] de se joindre a luy affin demployer leurs bons offices aupres de Me. Sweetman [La Reyne] pour la faire revenir. Je nay rien dit de tout cecy a Galiffer, parceque Madame de Brillaq a exigez de moy, den garder le secret." This is, in all probability, the subject mentioned by Hay in the letter here alluded to by Atterbury, who however it must be observed, appears to have received the first information of it, not

is at a distance, perhaps foreseeing the storm and not knowing well how to behave himself under it. The other two will perceive the ill effects of their bad counsels soon enough not to proceed any further, and will wish with all their hearts, they had not given an advice which directly tends to frustrate the end that they aimed at. Such is usually the issue of measures founded merely on pique and resentment and private views, and not on any honest and laudable motive of action. May all such schemes so prosper, until Mercer's friends can effectually serve him. May he not fail to profit by the advantages which his very enemies afford him!

Good news still continuing from Zilling [Vienna] &c. after this thunder clap, will be very welcome; and then all will take a right turn. It begins to take one here,* but between you and I, more slowly among those who are most concerned in the event, and should therefore judge of it with the greatest wisdom and calmness, than amongst others: but there are many things which hinder them from seeing matters in a true light, of which I need not inform you. I am confined to my bed and my couch, and must refer you to more particular accounts, to those of your Correspondents that converse more largely. Jonsonton [Daniel O'Brien] I hope, and Southcoat will supply this defect.

from the Triumvirate or any one of them, but from this communication of Hay from Rome.

* A passage in one of O'Brien's Letters seems to confirm this. The Bishop is here speaking of the public opinion as regards the conduct of Clementina in taking the course she did, and on this subject O'Brien tells Hay (December 24, 1725): "Tout ceque jay vu déstrangers 305 [Ministres] ou autres, et de François sensez qui nont poient esté prevenus par nos pretendus amis, mont parus tous de sentiments qu'auquune raisons ne devoient avoir engagez la Reyne a faire léclat quelle a fait; et que sa retraitte est inexcusable. Leffronterie de Mlle. Sheldon est inpardonnable; rien ne preuve tant, la part quelle a eu en tout cecy, que le façon dont elle se conduit."

Cameron I hear nothing of. Ranger * has his thousand livres.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient and
very faithful Servant,
RAROURE.

Endorsed [by Lord Inverness] "Bishop Rochester, Paris, December, 24th, 1725."

LXVI.

To the Hon. John Hay.

[Earl of Inverness.]

Sir, *Paris, December*, 31, 1725.

Your guess I believe is right as to Melvil's [King Stanislaus] having an hand in bringing hither Sir Toby.† But I do not imagine he has any Commissions from Mader [the King of Spain] : he is rather a voluntary undertaker, without any instructions. Upon a long conference with him, I judge his scheme to be what you once mentioned from Vanburn [Rome] and what I was then so free as to call an Italian refinement,‡ viz., that 1093 [the Emperor]

* A cant name for the Duke of Athol. It is here applied to William (second but eldest surviving son of the first Duke) who was then residing, attainted and an exile, at Paris. He had before received succour from James. See note, page 167.

† The Cypher here used will give the words "Sir Toby" only: but the peculiarity of the name and its being mentioned in connection with Spain, leaves little doubt but that Sir Toby Burke is intended.

‡ In letter LIV page 260. In one of O'Brien's letters of this date (December 31, 1725) we find the following passage concerning Sir Toby Burke and the mission he was then engaged upon. "Je vois quelque fois le Chevalier Bourk. Il ma mesme confié en partie ses negotiations a cette cour. Son premier soin en arrivant icy, a esté de tacher de prouver a 481 [le Duc de Bourbon] que cestoit son interest de se reconcilier avec 479 [le Duc de

and 1332 [the Duke of Hanover] had agreed to dupe the two others, and that each had taken his part; but at the bottom were well agreed. You may imagine what a progress a man is like to make, at this time, upon such a supposition, though some use may possibly be made of his mistake; of which I shall not endeavour to cure him.

As to the proposed journey to Milan at a proper season, it should be considered whether coming so much nearer

Chartres]. Je doute quil y ait reussy. Il ma dit aussy quil a presque prouvé a 481, que lunion de Erlacq [L'Empereur] avec Silvester [Le Roy d'Espagne] nest pas sincere, et que 455 [L'Empereur] na dautres vues que de dethroner ce Prince pour mettre Le Roy de Sardaigne en sa place, et saquerir par ce moyen, tout ceque ce dernier a en 200 [Italie]."

"Pour prouver la facilité de lexecution de cequil avance, il soustient que les royaumes daragon et de valence se declareroient pour Erlacq, sil le vouloit, en 24 heures, et que le reste suivroient de pres cet exemple: que le partis derlacq a la cour de Madrid estoit infiniment plus nombreuse que celuy de Silvester mesme, et enfin que si lon nouvre les yeux a ce Prince, sur sa situation, et que sil ne sunit bientost avec la France lon le vera, avant quil soit longtemps revenir icy avec toute sa famille. Il leurs a soutenus aussy acequil ma dit, que Erlacq ne fait poient de pas, que de concert avec L'Angleterre, malgrez sa liaison apparante avec Silvester."

"Voyla en gros son Sistheme" exclaims O'Brien, and then proceeds to relate that "lexpedient quil aproposé pour tirer 485 [Le Roy d'Espagne] de ce pretendus danger auquel il le croit qui est de gagner dabord Alberoni, et de tacher de favoriser, sous main, son retour en Espagne. Il est entré ensuitte dans des details de quelle façon il falloit sy prendre, et de quelle maniere et par quelle canal lon devoit gagner le Duc de Parme; les pas quil falloit faire aupres du Pape, et que 471 [Le Roy] pouvoit mesme contribuer beaucoup a faire reussir ce projet: quil falloit que Mr. et Me. Silvester [Le Roy et La Reine d'Espagne] y fussent conduit insensiblement sans quils sçeustent que la France y ait auquune part, et que lon gardat un grand secret par rapport a l'Empereur."

"Il est de sentiment," he further observes, "que les affaires de Mr. Sweetman [Le Roy] sont en tres mauvais estat, et dit que sans lunion de la France et de L'Espagne elles sont perdues sans resource. Apres quelques foibles objections que je lui ay faites, jay parus donner dans son sens, pour gagner encore plus sa confiance et scavoir entierement ses menées, pour estre en estat den profiter."

"Il ma beaucoup parlez de Motley [Le Roy Stanislaus] auquel il a confiez tout cecy. Je luy trouve des idées bien vagues et selon moy, bien fausse."

Rome, will be a proper measure to remove jealousies. Methinks Venice is more out of the way, and it is a natural excuse to be at the Carnival: but these events perhaps, are to be governed by reflections that lie not within my reach.*

As to the contents of Jonsonton's [Col. O'Brien's] letter which he imparted to me, I gave him my thoughts as they naturally occurred on each particular,† and to him I refer

* It would appear from O'Brien's letter quoted in the preceding Note, that Atterbury's observation had reference to some intended movement of the Duke of Wharton; for he there informs Hay that the Bishop "ma prie aussy de vous mander que Belgard [Le Duc de Wharton] fairoit mieux en quittant Vienne, daller a Venise au lieu de Milan. Je luy prie," he adds, "de vous mander luy mesme son sentiment sur toute ces choses la, (the descent on Ireland, &c. mentioned in the following note) mais il ma dit quil suffisoit que je le fis de sa part. Dans des choses plus essentielles, je ne men chargeray pas, surtout quand il poura escrire, car comme il manque quelque fois de memoire, il pouroit me desavouer en oubliant cequil mauroit dit..... Nous sommes toujours tres bien en semble, je le vois a mon ordinaire, quatre fois la semaine."

† This must allude to one of Hay's recent letters to O'Brien; and those that now remain of this period relate, for the most part, either to what was transacting at Vienna, or to the steps O'Brien was to take to communicate with Lord Orrery, who was then in Paris; but the loss of Hay's letter, to which this of the Bishop is a reply, will leave a little to conjecture as to the particular subject of the communication. On the first of the above heads, Hay tells O'Brien (November 28, 1725), "If you find 1344 [Lord Orrery] willing to hear you, then you are to inform him of the situation of Mr. Leviston's [the King's] affairs abroad, in as far as you have been made acquainted with them, either directly from Rome or by Gallifer [The Bishop of Rochester]; who, I am hopeful, has communicated to you the substance of the letters 529 [Hay himself] has lately writ to him; which is, in few words, that 471 [the King] has all reason to believe that an Alliance between the Emperor, the Czarine, Spain, and Sweden, will be soon concluded, if not already done. That it is hoped, Mr. Leviston's restoration will be an article of that Alliance, and that it will be the first thing undertaken in case of a rupture." His next letter (December 12, 1725) relates more particularly to Lord Orrery, to whom, if his good dispositions towards James were as strong as was believed, he was to communicate the contents of a certain Letter, "so that his Lordship might be prepared how to receive a trusty person, whom

you for an account of them. I wish you more happiness in the next year than you have had in this last; and that you may find your way out of all the difficulties with which you are entangled. I am with all respect,

Sir,

Your most faithful and
most obedient servant,
RAROURE.

the Emperor may address to him, to get a thorough information of the situation of Affairs in England. And if he think it convenient, in case that Erlack [the Emperor] should address himself to Mr. Cesar or Lord Strafford in England, that Binet [Lord Orrery] should prevent them on the subject; since if the Emperor takes either of these steps, in all probability his resolution to undertake, or not, Mr. Leviston's re-establishment, will depend upon the report that that person employed by Erlack, shall make to him. I have likeways taken upon me to insinuate that 1297 [Lord Orrery] might condescend to go over to England, if that should be thought necessary for persuading the Emperor's minister of the facility of bringing about the King's restoration."

It was, however, most probably, to the first of these subjects that Hay's letter, which O'Brien imparted to the Bishop, and the contents of which, as mentioned in the above extract, were directed to be communicated to Lord Orrery, must have referred. This particular letter, dated December 12, 1725, (he forwarded two on that day,) is missing; but we are not left in much doubt as to its import, from the nature of O'Brien's reply; which clearly indicates that it related to the state of the Jacobite Negociations at Vienna, and to the measures to be adopted in case of a descent on England. O'Brien, in reply to it, suggests the inconvenience of landing any portion of this Expedition too near London, because of the facility the Government would possess, of overwhelming it before a sufficient number of the people had joined, to employ the twenty thousand stand of arms with which it was to be furnished; at the same time giving an opinion that it would be sufficient if four thousand men were landed in the West, "des que Sommery [le Duc d'Ormond] est a leur tête;" and that the two thousand men destined for Ireland should be natives. He then says that "Galiffer [l'Evêque de Rochester] me charge de vous mander quil doute que la diversion d'Ireland fasse un aussy bon effet que lon se limagine. Il craint que cela ne fasse naistre une guerre de religion: pour moy, je ne suis pas de son sentiment, car pourvu que cela fasse un bien present, il sera aisez de prevenir les maux avenir. . . Il nest pas aussy de sentiment que la descente se fasse

The English Ambassador and his lady are this morning gone for England, without giving any previous notice of their intended motion. What they have left to be said behind them, is, that she is gone to lie in at home next February; at that rate we shall not have him soon back again.

trop pres de Londres." All this is said in answer, be it observed, to Hay's missing letter of the 12th of December, the contents of which he was to communicate to Lord Orrery; and seems to point out, with sufficient clearness, the nature of the communication, upon which Atterbury gave his opinion to O'Brien.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Letter XIII. Page 66.

That a serious attempt at invasion was contemplated early in the year 1722, seems clear both from the correspondence of James and his adherents. In his answer (dated January 3, 1722) to the Memorial that had been forwarded from England, in reply to one transmitted thither, the Chevalier observes, "It was with singular satisfaction that I perused the answer our friends in England have given to the Memorial lately sent to them; not only on account of the zeal and forwardness expressed in it, but also because the opinion of those worthy friends, agreeing so exactly with my own and that of my other friends abroad, on the present situation of affairs, ought to make what is now determined, be undertaken with more confidence and assurance of success; it having been the result of so unanimous and mature a deliberation. There remains therefore nothing to be done at present, but to hasten on all sides, with all speed, the necessary preparations for the proposed Insurrection. I compute that with what money our friends in England will be able to provide, and with what I shall send from hence, notwithstanding all my disappointments, we shall be still in a condition to answer the proposed ends." In another part he adds, "The Commission proposed for Lord North shall be sent out of hand, with one in the same nature, for Lord Lansdown to command in Cornwall, and a third for Lord Strafford to command in the North; and Lord Arran hath already my commission of General of all England and Ireland, for fear of accidents in his brother's [the Duke of Ormonde]

absence. There shall be also a number of blank commissions for Colonels, L.-Colonels and Majors, sent out of hand to Mr. Dillon; and if any others for higher ranks, are asked by our friends in England, they shall be dispatched forthwith . . . . . The reasons against any delay are unanswerable, and the appearance of success is, no doubt, very great; and therefore I write by this very post to the Duke of Ormonde, the Duke of Mar, Lord Lansdowne, and Mr. Dillon, that all possible dispatch may be made, so as that the Affair may begin at the time projected. It is not easy for me to express the concern I am under, at the manifest impossibility of my being present at the beginning of this great Attempt; but my friends may be assured that the moment my leaving Rome, can no more occasion the preventing of the project's taking effect: [and] that I shall loose no time in joining them. The reasons for not sending a draught of a Declaration at present, are very good, but no doubt the sooner it comes the better."

On the following day he addressed a letter to Atterbury, in which he thanks him for the great share he had in managing and bringing matters to the length they were arrived at, and acquainting him that what he (James) had written and sent for his information to Dillon, in reply to his answer to the Memorial, "will sufficiently show you how much I approve the proposed project, and how sollicitous I am to promote it as much as in me lyes. . . . By next post I shall send to Mr. Dillon, the Commissions mentioned in my reply; and with them fair Warrants for your worthy partners. I am truly mortified not to be able to give you a like token of my favour, but I hope the time will yet soon come, in which you may enjoy a rank superior to all the rest. After having been so signally instrumental to my restoration, I have an entire confidence in the continuance of your application to bring it about, for I cannot ask an increase of your zeal in that respect. God

grant we may soon meet, and I be in a condition of proving to you, that you have for ever gained the greatest share in my esteem and kindness."

It may be considered unnecessary, after these extracts, to give any quotations from the letters written by the Pretender on the same day (January 4th), to Lords North, Lansdown, and Strafford, the Duke of Ormonde, the Earl of Arran and others of his partizans, both in England and elsewhere; all of which are devoted to the same topic, and all equally and fully bear out the assertion of the committee to whom the intercepted letters were submitted, "that there was sufficient evidence to convince them that a design was formed by persons of distinction to invade these kingdoms."

The enterprize, however, was abandoned at this time; and its failure was attributed by James, solely to the want of money, which his party in England had not provided in sufficient amount. It must not however be disguised, nothwithstanding the expressed and recorded opinion of the Chevalier, that the disunion among the managers of his affairs in England, added most materially to the failure of the scheme. This is very clearly indicated in various passages of the correspondence, but in none, perhaps, more decidedly than in a communication from Lord Mar to James, dated March 16, 1722, wherein he begins by observing, "that the answer from Evans [England] so long lookt for, is come at last; but I cannot help saying it scarce deserves the name, and is a very odd one; since the one thing necessary [money] is not come with it, nor so much as promist: and we see, that if any had been sent or should stil, that it wou'd not be near what was proposed to them, which was the lest that possible could do, as was told them; and without which, nothing could be undertaken; and yet they press the thing's being undertaken without delay, which is wonderful, and sure cannot

be expected." And then, in reference to the disagreements of the heads of the party in England, he adds, "The differences, jealousies, and devisions which has been amongst the Five there, who were only intrusted in this affair, is lamentable; and it is plain, that has been no small part of the cause of delaying their answer to what was last sent them these two months and an half ago; .... tho' these Five have been the only people as yet, let into or consulted in this affair, which they themselves wou'd have so; yet it was alwayes presumed and even told, that there was no going into the execution of it on so narrow a bottome, and without concerting with a great many more; but they have not done any thing of that kind, nor did they give those here [at Paris] alowance to do it." It would appear from another letter of Mar to James (March 23), that Dr. Freind had some share in the management of this scheme, for Mar exclaims, "God have mercy on an undertaking of this kind, with Dr. John Freind on the head of it;" and immediately after observes, "when the Bishop of Rochester comes to discover their dealings with Dr. Jo. Freind, he will never forgive them; and it is scarce possible but he will get notice of it soon, which will put an end to the concert with them; so a new concert is absolutely necessary:" and he then adds, "there is one advantage in the Bishop of Rochester's falling out with these people; he will the more reddily reconcile and join with the Earl of Oxford, who after all, is the most capable and realie the fittest of friends in England, to be at the head of your affairs there. He has been too much neglected o' late, but there was no helping it, so long as the Five had management of the concert; they not allowing it to be communicated to any, but by themselves; and they it seems, have only entrusted it with their own little people."

It was to remedy these evils that the negociation of which

we are about to speak, was entered into; which, if successful, would conduce to a more perfect concert between the leaders of the Jacobite Party in England; and facilitate the raising of sufficient funds to carry on the next attempt at invasion: and both it was expected, would be accomplished by placing the governing power in the hands of the Earl of Oxford and the Bishop of Rochester, could they be brought to enter heartily into the scheme.

To effect this object, James at Mar's suggestion, on the 16th of April, 1722, wrote to the Bishop of Rochester. After lamenting the failure of the intended enterprize against England "for want of money, and from being pursued on too small a bottom, and without the concurrence of a greater number of Friends" he says, in reference to another attempt, "It will be therefore requisite that money be collected and sent to Mr. Dillon out of hand, that we may have time to make the necessary preparations on this side; and though I am sensible of the importance of secrecy in such an affair, yet I do not see how it will be possible to raise a sufficient sum, or to make a reasonable concert in England, without letting some more persons into the project. You on the place are best judge how these points are to be compassed, but I cannot but think that Lord Oxford might be of great use on this occasion. Lord Lansdown is to write to him on the subject, and I am confident if you two were to compare notes together, you would be able to contrive and settle matters on a more sure and solid foundation, than they have hitherto been: for though I am convinced that it is in the nation's power to relieve itself if it pleases, yet it must be manifest that it is not a few people alone, that can compass that work. It must be more or less an unanimity amongst a number of considerable persons, that can only effect it; and if that cannot be obtained, I do not see any resource we have in our-

selves alone, — but with that, the affair appears to me infallible."

To leave nothing on his part untried to promote this wished for arrangement, he at the same time wrote the following letter to Lord Oxford, which is here printed from a copy in Mr. Hay's hand-writing.

[Copy.]

April, 14th, 1722.

" If you have not heard sooner nor oftener from me, it hath not, I can assure you, been my fault; neither do I attribute to yours, the long silence you have keept on your side, but to a chaine of disappointments and difficulties which hath been also the only reason of my not finding all this while, a method of conveying my thoughts to you, and receiving your advice; which I shall ever value as I ought, because I look upon you not only as an able lawyer, but a sincere friend. This will, I hope, come soon to your hands; and the worthy friend by whose canal I send it, will accompany it, by my directions, with all the lights and informations he or I can give, and which it is therefore useless to repeat here. I shall expect with impatience your return to that message; and as by it you will be convinced of the great and intire confidence I have in you, I hope you will be as much perswaded that there is nobody wishes you honor, happiness, and health, more than I do; nor hath for you a more reall esteem and friendship."

We may now proceed to state that Kelly's conference with Atterbury on the subject of Lord Mar's proposition, was opened by producing and placing in his hands the following letter addressed to Atterbury under his cant name of Illington, by Lord Mar under that of Jo. Motfield.

[Copy.]

1st. To Mr. Illington.

Sir, *April* 2, 1722.

Though our correspondence has been interrupted for some time past, I cannot let so good an opportunity slip, when there is one, who I believe you have confidence in, and I take to be a very honest man, to be the bearer, Mr. Hatfield [George Kelly].

I have discoursed him fully, so will not repeat here what he'll give you an account of; but, as I hope you have ever found me, I beg you may be assured that you ever shall do soe with all faithfulness and truth, Sir,

Your most obedient and
Most humble Servant,
Jo. Motfield."

This letter Kelly states in his communication of the 16th of April [the receipt of which is acknowledged by Lord Mar in a letter, dated May 5], intercepted and printed in the Report, was "received very kindly," and being asked what it was that he had to say from Lord Mar upon it, replied "that it was a proposal for joining Stocks with the Earl of Oxford, and taking the management of the Company's business into their hands," for which he gave him Lord Mar's reasons at large; and that if he approved of it, he had another letter for him, with one enclosed from Lord Mar to the Earl of Oxford, to the same purpose; which was sent open for him to read and deliver if he thought fit. This second letter, which accompanied that to Lord Oxford, was as follows.

[Copy.]

2nd. To Mr. Illington.

" Sir, *April 3rd*, 1722.

In case you should think a letter from me to Mr.

Primrose* could be of any use, I send you the enclosed; such a one as I believe would not be disagreeable to him: but I leave you entirely to judge of it, and either to order it to be given him in the way you think proper, or throw it in the fire.

Adieu."

Having read the letter to Lord Oxford, where James' affairs and those who had the management of them in England, were designated under the terms Trade and Traders, and in which Mar had observed, "There is an old acquaintance of yours, Mr. Goodman Illington [Atterbury] who having had some communication with those yong merchants, sees (Musgrave doubts not) their folly, and the danger there is of that trades being ever ruined by their mismanagement. Whatever may have been in former mistakes betwixt you and Illington, Musgrave [Mar himself] will not, he says, doubt of his (Illington) wishing so well to that trade in general, but that he'll now joyn heartly in concert with you, nor can he doubt either of your doing so with him, for the same cause; and he is sure of your two joyning heartly, will be most agreeable to Mr. Freeman Hardy [the King] who has the greatest Stock in that company;" Atterbury paused for some time, and desired to have till the next morning to consider of it; he then sent early for Kelly, and "said," as Kelly states in a letter to Mar, "that he had considered that matter coolly, approved of the proposal, and your (Lord Mar's) reasons, and had actually taken his resolution accordingly, which was to join both heart and hands with the Earl of Oxford; and not only so, but that in the management and course of the business, he would shew him all the deference and respect that was due to a person who had so justly filled the

* This word is underlined, and at the foot of the letter appears, in Mar's own writing, the name of Hacket also marked in a similar way, to indicate that these names are intended for the same person — the Earl of Oxford.

stations which he has been in." He also observed that "being now growing old, he was resolved to dedicate the remainder of his days to the King's service; and proposed by this union, to repay some part of the personal debt which he owed the Earl of Oxford, to whom he would immediately write upon this subject: and added further that, if the latter met him with the same good inclinations, he did not doubt, but the King would soon find the happy effects of it; for he is entirely of your [Lord Mar's] opinion, that there is not much good to be expected from the present managers, and thinks it no great vanity to say that the Earl of Oxford and himself are the fittest persons for this purpose; but that the chief success of their partnership will depend upon the secrecy of it."

This determination was communicated to Mar in Kelly's letter of the 16th; and a few days after coming to the decision, [April 20th] Atterbury himself wrote the letters, mentioned on page 63, as having been intercepted and copied by the Government; one of which — that addressed to Lord Mar under the cant name of Musgrave, is evidently an answer to the one which Kelly first delivered to him on opening this conference. It is as follows:

[Copy.]

"SIR, *April 20th*, 1722.

I received from Mr. Hatfield [George Kelly] (after a long intermission of such favours) a Letter which was very welcome to me. I have also considered carefully what he had to offer to me in particular, and entirely agree with what is proposed; but my present sad circumstances (of which he has already informed you) [in his letter of the 16th] will not suffer me to be active soon, or even to set forward the Affairs [Preliminaries] entrusted with me, in so speedy a manner as I could wish. The best is that as

I cannot act openly [out of hand] so neither is there, I think, any immediate need of it; some time being requisite towards ripening Matters, in order to fix the C ——— 'd [205 correspondence 2184 d proposed] which, if hastily begun, may be attended with suspicions and other inconveniences; but you may depend upon it that the ——— s [1940 chief 2185 s Papers] committed to my care, [charge] shall be forwarded in due time to the Persons concerned, as also all such other ——— s [Papers] as I judge (and at the time I judge) they will best promote the Service. What is to be wished for is, that the Person whom I am to act with, would come to Town; and his doing so may be facilitated better from your side, than by any thing that can be done here; by that time he comes, I hope I shall be able to take my part with him. I add no more now, (being very unfit to say even thus much) but that I am with intire respect and confidence, Sir, &c.

T. ILLINGTON.

The above Letter, as well as that addressed to Mr. Jackson [James] was enclosed in the following one, directed to General Dillon, under the cant name of Mr. Chivers.

[Copy.]

"SIR, *April 20th*, 1722.

I ought to acknowledge in form the several Papers I have successively received from you, if I were capable at present of doing any thing regularly; but indeed I am not, as Hatfield [George Kelly] well knows, and why I am not: some time must pass before I am any way capable of business. In the mean time you are in the right to press the Gentlemen concerned by all manner of ways you can think of, to furnish what, by being hitherto not supplied,

has rendered the thing impracticable. They were desirous of having that matter intirely in their own management, and I not unwilling that they should have it, being always diffident of success on my part, upon interpositions of that kind; and therefore it gave me no concern to be so freely excused from any share (as I was for a great while) in that Trouble. At last indeed, when the Point was found upon trial to be more difficult than they expected, I was pressed to undertake the matter: but so late, that I did not think it reasonable for me then to interpose; nor can I yet undertake any thing of that kind, it being what (since some former mismanagement wherein I was deeply concerned) I have constantly declined; hoping that I might not be altogether unuseful to the Service, if I went on to promote it in my own, that is, in another way. I still hope so, and that a little time (which must be employed in doing nothing but soliciting Supplies) will give me room for entering into Measures that may be somewhat more significant than those formerly taken. This I shall endeavour, being at present perfectly tired by the distracting Measures which have been taken from several Quarters, by persons no ways equal to the work, and at the same time not agreeing among themselves. This is all I can say at present, but that I am, with the same intire respect and fidelity I ever was, Sir, &c.

T. JONES."

"I have communicated the Copies of Mr. Mansfield's [the Duke of Ormonde] and Jacobs' [Capt. Will. Morgan] Letters, (which besides the G——— [574 general 2185 Paper] whereof they had a copy) were the only ones of those transmitted, that I was directed, or indeed thought proper so to do. Though I have for some time thought that nothing of importance should be trusted to the Post, and am resolved myself not to send that way;

yet the death of Lord Sunderland makes such a caution more indispensably necessary: for you may depend upon it, those in power here, will now enter into measures of more severity and strictness, and employ all their diligence [vigilence] as well as power, on such occasions."

The third Letter of which the Packet was composed, was intended for the Pretender himself, to whom it was addressed under the name of Jackson.

[Copy.]

"SIR, *April 20th*, 1722.

I am sorry to find by yours, which Hatfield [Kelly] brought, that you know our circumstances on this side so well, because that knowledge does not, I apprehend, give you any advantageous opinion of us: however, let that be as it will, it is not fit you should be deceived, and rely on more than will be made good to you. If you guessed at my right mind, I dare say it was agreeable to your own, and that you could not but see through the forwardness [weakness] of all those unsupported pretending people. Notwithstanding this Opportunity is elapsed, I agree with you, another may offer before the end of the year, though not perhaps every way so favorable. However, it became me to speak strongly on that head, especially at the time when the ——— [Paper] was drawn, which was long before it was transmitted; for it was kept back a great while in hopes that Deeds might have accompanied Words; and sent at last rather to justify the writer in respect to that part he had undertaken, than to push on any Design [Thing] in so unprovided [unprepared] a condition. I find I was not mistaken, and am glad I was not so, though every word of that ——— [Paper] passed the view and approbation of the persons concerned: but they were to be, and shall always be by me, treated tenderly, though nothing

shall engage me to enter deep with them for the future. I had taken this resolution before Hatfield's [Kelly] return, and am pleased to find that you concur with me in opinion. As soon as God restores me to my health, and some other melancholy circumstances are blown over, which will be as soon as there is any occasion for me, I will not be idle. In the mean time give me leave to withdraw myself, seemingly, from any engagement of this kind; I shall return to it, I doubt not, with more ability to promote the work. Not that I will decline any proper occasions that may offer themselves to converse freely with the men, and in the manner I have been used to do, for it is fit upon all accounts I should do so: but by little and little that confidence will cool, and make room, I hope, for somewhat of a more solid and important nature. I dictate this in great pain, and for that reason, and because I am not at present in any readiness to go farther, shall add only my faithful assurances of an intire and unalterable respect for you.

1378."

The "Paper" mentioned in this Letter to Jackson is not, it is believed, that noticed in Mar's communication to James of the 16th of March, but the one he speaks of in a Letter he forwarded on the 6th of April, wherein he says "I send you also inclosed a Paper I got from Hatfield [George Kelly] which he says was wrote by Jones [Atterbury] and showen to his Partners, which they approved of: but Jackson [Lord Lansdown] thinks that it is Jones' real opinion of things, and that he toke that pretext only of showing it them as if he intended it to be intercepted, but truely to let his real sentiments be knowen to Chivers [Dillon] Jackson [Lord Lansdown] and Motfield [the Duke of Mar] which, for his Partners, he was not otherways at liberty to do; and he desired Hatfield to give the copie to those three. There is certainly a great deal of truth in it; but if it be all

so, any undertakeing, on that foot, against the Government, were almost madness to be attempted."

There is sufficient evidence to prove that the Originals of these letters were received by the Parties to whom they were addressed; but as the one intended for the Chevalier himself, has not been discovered among the Stuart Papers, that, together with the other two, of which the intercepted packet was composed, have been printed from the copies given in the Report of the Committee, to whom these papers, and those relating to Christopher Layer and others, were referred; and who published them from the transcripts taken at the post-office when the packet was detained by order of the Government. As printed by the Committee, however, they are evidently incomplete, for the decypherers appear to have failed in clearing up certain passages which, as the reader must have observed, are left unexplained. Under these circumstances it was feared, that what had then baffled the vigilance or ingenuity of those employed by the Government, it would be hopeless now to attempt to elucidate; and that the cyphers which they were content to pass unexplained, must for ever remain so. A research, however, in the State Paper Office, has discovered the attested and decyphered copies of these letters — apparently those used at Atterbury's trial — and these, being the fac-simile of the originals, are valuable, in as much as they show the exact cypher used by the Bishop in their composition, and will thus enable us, by means of the key now in the collection, to clear up those particular passages which the Government at the time, thought proper to mystify.

It may be safely affirmed that a comparison of these letters with the Bishop's cypher, strikingly exhibits either the extreme cleverness of the decypherers in unravelling these papers; or, incontestibly proves, that the means of rendering them into intelligible English, was furnished by

one deeply in the secret of James' affairs; — for in a few insignificant instances only, does the interpretation of the Government decypherer differ from that given by the key; and these variations are, seemingly, employed with no other view, than to keep up the delusion of their having been decyphered without any extraneous assistance: — the place of the real word being generally supplied by one of equivalent meaning, and in some cases, the cypher has been left altogether unexplained. A specimen of the first species of blind occurs in the letter to Musgrave [Lord Mar], where the cypher 1145 is rendered *openly* instead of *out of hand;* and the word *care* is given as the meaning of 232 instead of *charge:* also in the letter to Jackson *unprovided* is used instead of *unprepared.* Of the cyphers which are left entirely unexplained, it may be sufficient to point out one instance only, and this also will be found in the letter to Musgrave; where a blank appears for a word beginning with the letter C, the cypher of which (205) they seem to have been otherwise unable to explain, although in reality, it could have given them no trouble; for the same ingenuity or clue, which enabled them to decypher these letters without, it may be said, making one blunder, would unquestionably have enabled them to write out the word *correspondence,* had they felt inclined so to do; as well as to disembarass the passage itself by omitting the final *'d,* which they perfectly well knew to be the ending of the following cypher 2184'd. In the letters as now printed, these corrections and omissions will be found to follow their respective passages, inserted between brackets.

The examination of the letters at the State-Paper Office has clearly established the fact, that two distinct sets of cyphers have been employed in their composition — the counterparts of which at present exist in the collection. The greater portion of them are written in one which

Atterbury almost exclusively used at this period, and since 1719; when it appears, from the following endorsement, to have been issued: "New Cypher 1719, with England and Paris and the Duke of Ormonde; and now with the Duke of Mar and Lord Lansdown." The numbers in this cypher reach to 1850, and every number in the composition of the letters we are now considering, beyond that, belongs to a perfectly distinct set; — one not generally used either by Atterbury or those with whom he corresponded; and which had in fact, been but recently brought into play, as appears from the endorsement upon it, "Additional Cypher corrected, received January 1722," and underneath this endorsement appears the following memorandum "used with Mr. Dillon, the Duke of Ormonde, and friends in England." The decypherers, however, strange as it may seem, appear to have found no more difficulty in the one than in the other; for with the like trifling exceptions, all are expounded.

It should, perhaps, be observed that Jackson is the cant name, in another of the Bishop's cyphers (an alphabetical one), by which Lord Lansdown is designated; a perusal, however, of the letter here addressed to that name, will satisfy the reader, that the conclusion of the Committee as given in their Report, is correct, and that in this instance, it designated the Pretender himself. It was taken probably, as the Committee suggest, from Plunket's cypher, it being seemingly not an infrequent practice with Atterbury to use other names than those contained in his own, — instances of which occur in the name of Dubois on the opposite page, and in that of Stanhope at the commencement of Letter XI.

The Report of the Committee also notices a letter written to Kelly by Captain Glascock, one of Dillon's Secretaries at Paris, having reference to a mysterious one that Illington [Atterbury] had written thither, and about

which Kelly had been obliged to write an explanation. This refers, it is believed, to one found among the Bishop's papers at the time of his arrest, and printed on page 247 of the Report. It was addressed to M. Dubois, but not signed or dated from any place; and having escaped the notice of the Editor of Atterbury's letters, published some years since, it has been thought desirable, as connected with this correspondence, to print it here; it being presumed that a perusal will satisfy the reader of its being the Bishop's composition. It is as follows;

[Copy.]

Superscribed to MR. DUBOIS.

" SIR, *December 16th.*

Forgive my silence: you easily conceive the difficulties I am under in that regard. I write this only to assure you of my sincerest and unalterable respect, and refer you to the worthy bearer for news, and for every thing, which otherwise I should have found some way or other of writing to you myself. I have heard nothing from you since the letter I had about two months ago by Mr. Johnson [George Kelly] to which I immediately, in his hand, returned my answer. A rumour has reached me of your having written hither since, but I can find nobody that owns he has seen your letters. I am always, Sir,

Your truly obedient
and faithful servant."

The name of Dubois is placed in the cypher, used at this period by the Bishop, opposite that of M. le Blanc, who, although very favourably inclined towards the Pretender and his cause, does not appear ever to have been in communication with Atterbury. It is therefore probably nearer the truth to suppose that it was used to make dis-

covery still more difficult; and seeing that it must have been written to one with whom he was in the practice of corresponding, — that he was well known to, and indeed upon familiar terms with — and that Kelly's communication, in explanation of what is believed to be this very letter, was shown, if not addressed, to Dillon, — there will, it is thought, be but little doubt that it was intended for this latter person; and as little that the answer to the letter received "about two months ago," is that printed under No. XI. which, it will be recollected, was entirely in Kelly's handwriting.

The correctness of the copies of the three letters in the State-Paper Office was sworn to by Peter Thuvois and Robert Clark, the transcribers, before Ch. De la Faye, on the 24th of August, 1722.

It will be unnecessary here to enter into the question, which a perusal of many parts of the Correspondence suggests, whether Mar were really sincere in his wish or endeavours to bring about a more perfect concert between James' friends in England, or whether his appearing to busy himself in the schemes now afloat, did not rather proceed from a wish to lull the suspicions that were beginning to arise in the minds of James' friends, concerning the sincerity of his intentions; the present work being rather a collection of facts for the elucidation of our history at this period, than the history itself. The reader will have ample opportunity of forming his own conclusions on this and many other points, as the several facts are developed in the forthcoming correspondence of James and his principal agents and adherents: and it will therefore be sufficient to notice, in reference to the three intercepted letters here printed, that all doubt seems to have been removed from Atterbury's mind as to Mar's treachery in providing the English government with the necessary information to fix the authorship of them upon him: The method adopted is

stated in the extract from Mr. Murray's letter to the Pretender, given in the note on page 83, and in Atterbury's own letter, page 107. Mar's answer, which caused this extensive mischief to the Jacobite party, was sent by the common post — a channel he had been particularly desired by the Bishop, not to use — and was, as intended, intercepted by the government, and became the main evidence against him. This letter, of which there is no copy among Mar's Correspondence, being so intimately connected with the three that were intercepted, and the cause of Atterbury's arrest, trial and exile, it is thought not improper to give here, from the Report before mentioned,

D. 24.

A Letter from Jo. Motfield to Mr. Illington; inclosed in Quitwell's of May 27.

This letter is an answer to Illington's of the 20th of April O. S. as directed to Musgrave; therefore Musgrave and Motfield are the same persons.

May $\frac{11}{22}$ 1722.

It is some days since I had the satisfaction of your's of the 20th your stile of last month. I did not expect so soon after that, to have heard of a loss you have had since, for which I condole with you, and nothing which concerns you so near can fail touching me, as in friendship it ought. It is tho' becoming us, as it is our duty, to submit with resignation to what the just and great God thinks fit to order for us in this vain and transitory world; but you know such things so much better than I, that I will not trouble you with saying any more upon it.

I would fain hope that your own distemper will soon give you ease, and I pray God it may be so, for your own comfort, and the good of those you favour with your friendship.

I will not at this time trouble you with saying any thing on what you wrote me, only you may be sure that it is a very great pleasure to find you of the same sentiments with me as to our old friend and acquaintance, who I hope you will endeavour without delay to bring from his retirements.

I have no other canal that I care to write to him by, than that which I used last; and there has been a letter for him here for some time past, which must go by the same, when there is an opportunity; but I heartily wish that you may not wait sending to him for any thing from hence.

I'll long with impatience to hear of your recovery, and I am with all affection and truth

Sir,
Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
Jo. Motfield.

Letter xvii. Page 80.

The delay that had taken place in obtaining a confirmation of the permission given by the Regent a short time before his death, for the Duke of Ormonde to reside in France, was looked upon by the Pretender as a great misfortune; and earnest endeavours were made by him, to prevail on the Duke of Bourbon to permit his return. The hesitation, and subsequent flat refusal, of the Duke to comply with the Chevalier's wish, and the reason he gave for it, seem to confirm Atterbury's suspicion, that the request was unnecessarily but artfully brought under his notice, with a conviction that, made in the manner it was, and considering the then state of the relations between France

England, he would think it, as we find he did, most prudent to refuse the application; and thus the junto at Paris be relieved from the presence and interference of two persons, whose abode in that capital would be any thing but agreeable to them. The following extract relative to the Duke's journey and his and Atterbury's residence in Paris, is from Mar's Letter to James, dated Jan. 10, 1724. "I am very sory for the turn Mr. Smith's [Duke of Ormonde] affair has taken at last. When D. O —— s [the Duke of Orleans] died, all those who were in use here of coresponding with Smith wrote to him to make all the heast hither he could and to loose no time, else there might be a stope put to his comeing, but if he came soon there would be no difficulty in his being here. I suppose Smith had substanciall reasons for hindreing his complying with those advices. I was told last week that he had wrote to a friend here to advertice Mr. Yates [Atterbury] of his being to be here, and that he wisht Yates might soon leave the place where he is, and come hither to meet him, in case of his being stopt in his present quarters upon Smith's comeing, which Yates had agreed to, tho' much contrair to his former resolutions; but last post save one, it seems, brought letters from Smith of another kind, as you'll see by the enclosed to me.

"I was unwilling to medle in the thing for fear of being blamed whatever might happen, but I resolved notwithstanding, that there should be no failour on my part, since I had been desired; so I called immediately thereafter at the D. de Ch —— n's, who had told me before of the part he had acted in the affair, but neither then nor twice next day when I called again, was he come to toun. I went then to see the Lady,* who was the beginner of it, who

* This passage seems to confirm what the Duke of Ormonde stated in a letter he wrote to James, November 28, 1723, that the permission for him to return to France was obtained through the medium of the Duchess of Orleans, and removes the doubt expressed in the note on page 75.

told me that Mr. Le Duc* had been spoke to of it, and that he said, had Mr. Smith been now actually here, he would have made no difficulty in his continueing; but that since he had not yet removed, he could not at this time alow of his comeing: so there's an end of our haveing the pleasure of seeing him for this bout, and God knows only when there may be such another opportunity. This will probablie stope Yates comeing too: had they both come at the same time, it had certainly given an alarme to some folks, and I fear to little purpose at this time; which was so evident, that I was surprized at Smith's desireing Yates to remove, til the first had once been fixt here.

"I am told that Moris [Mr. Hay] said before he left this, that Smith was expected here; but he was sure he wou'd not come, til he once knew that Yates was here and had the chife direction of the Affairs of the Company; and indeed I belive non will envie him of it: but I write all this to you as a gazettier only, thinking it fitt, that you should know how those matters stand, so I'll make no reflections on them."

In a letter to the Duke of Ormonde (April 3, 1724), James expresses a hope that the Maréchal de Tessé, "may be able to help you in hastening your intended journey into France, where I hope, the Bishop of Rochester will soon be;" and then adds, "I shall certainly do my best towards getting leave for you to return to France, for the more I think on the matter, the more I think that it is of consequence to my service;" and he consequently on the 9th of April, forwarded instructions to Dillon "to take the first occasion of representing to M. Le Duc, in my name, how sensibly he would oblige me in allowing the Duke of Ormonde to come, at this time, into France." In his reply to the letter containing these instructions, (May 1,

* This is evidently intended for the Duke of Bourbon, who became prime minister on the death of the Regent, and to whom the whole of this negociation refers.

1724), Dillon says, "I have already made the Duke of Bourbon the request as directed in your last, and I can with truth assure that I made use of all the prevailing arguments I could think of to obtain the permission, knowing the good consequence it might prove to the King's service, and the great satisfaction it would be to Medley [the Duke of Ormonde] in particular. Though I am persuaded it is in vain to speak any more of the matter, yet I shall make a second attempt, provided I can find a favourable occasion without running the risk of a flatt denyall, which I think must be carefully avoided for many reasons. I am truly concerned for this disappointment, for I know the Duke of Ormonde being here, may be useful in more than one respect." In a previous letter (April, 9, 1724), however, to the Duke of Ormonde himself, he had already given an account of the efforts he had made in his favour, and of their failure. He states, "I have solicited Dampiere [the Duke of Bourbon] in the most pressing manner, to confirm the permission late Seymour [the Regent] granted for Malcolm's [the Duke of Ormonde] coming to these parts; and have insinuated in very strong terms, that Farmer [the King] and Medley [the Duke of Ormonde] would be highly obliged, if he complyed with what has been accorded before his time. I have represented other valuable reasons to the same purpose, unnecessary to repeat at present. He heard me out very calmly and, [when] I finished my discourse, he said in a friendly manner, 'you may be sure Mr. Chivers [Dillon] I should be very glad of an occasion to oblige both the gentlemen you mention [i. e. James and the Duke of Ormonde], but to accord leave I should perhaps be obliged to retract in a few days afterwards, is not, I think, advisable; neither is it worth while to give room to exclaim for matters of small moment; and whenever occasion is given for a breach, we must be better prepared than at present. Mr. Medley has already made the same

demand by another hand, and I made the answer becoming a first minister; for we are now in a time that requires care should be taken with whom one enters upon details of that kind; and to clear the matter further, I must tell you, that I have sounded the English ministry upon it. They will not hear and much less agree to such a demand; so that patience is necessary till a more favourable opportunity happens.' I am very sorry, for many reasons, this permission could not be obtained, and do repeat word for word what was said to me, that you may see divisions and different partys run so high in this country, that one must be very careful by what canall any favour is solicited: and I can with truth say that persons of access on the place, have much difficulty to determine this question. I hope you will easily believe the hint I give on this account has no other meaning but to put Mr. Medley on his guard from making use of any wrong address." We may gather from a subsequent letter of Dillon to James (June 12, 1724), that the application was repeated, but with no better success, for he says "I find you are much concerned, and indeed with some reason, at the Duke's refusing to confirm what his predecessor had granted the Duke of Ormonde. I have made all the necessary representations in your name, and all the arguments I could think of from myself, to facilitate and obtain Dorvall's [the Duke of Bourbon] compliance, but all would not do; so that I see no other way left to reassume this point, but the King's writing in his own hand pressingly about it when he judges the occasion favourable; and I must observe that I look upon it as somewhat nice with regard to the juncture, to risk a refusal in matters of that kind. I thought it incumbent on me to explain this in the light I see things, which is submitted to the King's better judgment."

These extracts may be closed with one from James'

letter to Atterbury, dated July 4, 1724, when he seems to have given up all hope of prevailing with the Duke of Bourbon. "In the mean time, I see little appearance of the French court's taking any immediate resolution in our favor; and fair words and kind expressions can signify little. But I really hope with time and patience, matters may be brought a great length, tho' I see plainly, that that must come much more from the court of France being convinced that it is their interest to support mine, than from any solicitations or representations from me; and for the present I find matters in such a situation, that I cannot so much as hope to get leave for the Duke of Ormonde to come into France at this time, tho' I have within these few days made a last effort for that effect."

PAGE 84.

Hay has been accused of intriguing to procure Mar's removal; but if by this it is intended to imply, that he was desirous to promote his own private ends, at the expence of his former friend, the opinion is certainly erroneous. There is nothing whatever, in the correspondence, to prove that he took any steps against Mar, till he had reason to suspect him of treachery to the cause for which he himself was ready to sacrifice every thing; but much to satisfy the reader, that to the period of his arrival at Paris on his way to see Atterbury at Brussels, he was on the most intimate terms of private friendship with him: nor had he in fact any personal or private end to gain by Mar's removal; for he had during a very considerable period, exercised all the functions of the office held by Mar while he was with the Pretender at Rome; and he had no wish — indeed he evinced an extreme reluctance — to see

the Chevalier's intention carried out in respect to his own official appointment as Mar's successor. This feeling is very strongly shown in his own letters to Mr. Murray, and corroborated, as the reader will have seen in the note on page 83, by James' own testimony. In a letter to his brother-in-law (March 28, 1724) he says, "I always was of your opinion as to the affair I mentioned to you relating to myself, and told the Bishop when I saw him, and that he spoke to me upon the matter, that, besides five hundred reasons I had for not engaging myself in that affair, the fate of others in that situation who were more able and capable for it than I could pretend to be, was warning enough for me or any one that knew what it was, not to engage in it: to which the Bishop answered, that it was certain Peter [the King] could expect nobody from home, and had so few on this side of the water, that there was few to choise upon, — that refusing to comply with Peter's desire was, in the present case, leaving him alone, which I could not do; and a great deal to this purpose too long to repeat. I told him I could not tell how agreeable that might be to the Duke of Ormonde and some friends in England, to which the Bishop seemed to say that he was in a situation of making it so to them. So I parted with the Bishop in assuring him that I would by no means accept of that, except an express order from Peter obliged me to it; that I was persuaded Peter would not impose it upon me, till he knew the Duke of Ormonde's and friends' in England opinion of it; and that when he, the Bishop, could assure me that it would be agreeable to them, that then I should be very much encouraged to obey Peter's commands, and sacrifice my own peace and quiet to his service .... This I only write to yourself, and in the greatest confidence." In the very first letter he wrote to Atterbury after his return to Rome, (Feb. 5, 1724) he says, "Mr. Mercer [the King] has not mentioned to any one

his view with relation to Lumnsden; and it was with some difficulty I obtained some little time longer before I accepted of it." And in a subsequent letter to Mr. Murray (May 16, 1724), he says, in reference to this very passage of the letter we are now considering, "Peter has a letter from the Bishop of the 20th of April. I must communicate to you one article in it, which indeed I don't perfectly understand, and desire you would endeavour to explain it to me." And then adds, "I informed you formerly of Peter's proposal to me, and of what passed betwixt the Bishop and me upon it. He now says in his letter to the King, 'I have opened the affair of Mr. Hay both to the Duke of Ormonde and to friends in England, and don't find that that step will be unwelcome to either, as far as it can be set forward at present.' Upon receit of this, Peter has renewed to me his former desire with all the earnestness imaginable. You may easily believe the uneasiness I am in not to find myself any ways in a condition to comply with his desire. Sure were I capable to undertake a thing of that kind, no pains nor trouble it could produce, would hinder me from it; but being entirely unaccustomed to Forraigne Affairs, and having none of the qualities requisite to support myself in it, I think it better for his service to have nobody in that way about him, than to have one with the name of a place he is unfit to exercise." He then proceeds to mention some of James' reasons for wishing him to accept the office, and appeals to Murray's own knowledge as to "what advances has been made to a certain person* about his coming here. He [James] suspects he may now accept of what was formerly offered, and would not, I believe, care much for Madame's company, though I am persuaded it would be a

* These words "a certain person" are written over a passage not sufficiently obliterated to prevent its being easily recognized as Ld. L——n [Lord Lansdown].

lucky thing if he came alone. That person's bad circumstances may, and I hope will, engage him to this, though this is one of Peter's reasons for pressing me to accept. I have begged a little more time, offering now to do every thing in my power to serve him, providing I have not the name. Peter was quite angry with me last night talking on this subject. I need not mention to you all his reasons for being intent on this affair, but must desire your advice and opinion on the matter; with ane explanation of the article I send you, and the Bishop's opinion at large, and plainly; for I am persuaded he can't wish me ill personally, and nobody doubts of his wishing well to Peter's affairs; and pray let me know his meaning of the last line, 'as far as it can be set forward at present.' For my own part I am still of the same opinion I was of when I wrote to you on this subject last, and which I believe you'll find to be the Bishops's: and I shall suspend my further judgment till I hear from you again; but pray be particular and speak plain language to me. Be your opinion or the Bishop's what it will, the greatest mark of a friend is to give ane opinion freely and sincerely, whether he thinks what he says agreeable to the person he speaks to or not."

Indeed it appears evident from a passage in one of Mr. Murray's letters to James (Jan. 28, 1724), that the intrigue was on the part of Mar and those who acted with him, to get rid of Hay; his observation is "I cannot but on this occasion observe to you that a certain person, who, I may boldly say, was for some time too much master of your affairs, begun his project by endeavouring to remove from you those of whom he seems to have had a very good opinion; and his design was certainly to leave you no one near you, whom he thought capable to oppose or discover his intrigues. I have at present no personal interest in this particular, and indeed I can have none that is different

from yours. Mr. Hay is the only one who remains; and if the many artifices used to draw him from Italy, have not succeeded on his part, I am sure you will impute it to his particular affection for you;" and in one to Mr. Hay himself (Feb. 27, 1724), he says, "I will write to the Bishop to prevent him against many attempts that will certainly be made upon him in regard of you; for by all I can learn the mask is entirely pulled off in that respect . . . . I have got great light into many things in half a day's time that I have been here [Paris]; and I will inform you of what I think for Peter's service by next post." He touches upon the same subject in other parts of his correspondence with Hay: in one (March 3, 1724), by observing that "Mr. Martel [Lord Mar] is using the same part towards you at present, that he did to me some years ago; and where it not that it is known, that people in England will have nothing to do with him, he would have, no doubt, pretended their authority. In this respect your situation is better than mine was, because then he had credit with the King, and some in England; but now nothing that is known to come from him can do you hurt: but at the same time it is certain that he will set other people at work:" and in another (May 1, 1724) by first advising him to arm himself with patience, and then saying that "Martel has begun with you, and will not end soon, if he don't gain his point. You are compared in their discourses to Spencer and some other mischievous favourites that are to be found in the English history; and Martel complains particularly, that Mr. Knight [the King] disobliges every body on account of his partiality for one man. In short this will prove a tryal of skill, whether Mr. Knight or they are master; and, if they get the better, it is plain that no reasonable man will ever attempt to serve him for the future. Sure Mr. Knight cannot want longer experience of those peoples' ways of acting, to bring him to a firm

resolution; and I hope he remembers how he was used in my case, and that his reflections upon it will be useful to him."

These extracts sufficiently show that it was Mar's object at this time, (which is indeed proved by his own letters,) to have Hay removed from Rome; and that the latter, if he were desirous of seeing Lord Mar put aside, entertained the wish in common with Atterbury and all James's friends in England, and not from any desire to fill his post. As regarded Mar, "*Il n'y qu'une voix à son égard* amongst all Peter's friends," exclaims Mr. Murray in another letter (May 22, 1724) to his brother-in-law, in which he also states that "Martel has Dutton [Dillon] and L. [Lord Lansdown] entirely in with him in all this affair; and they now say that when you are gone from Rome, a person of consequence will come there. If Mr. Knight gives way to these things it is certain that no man of common prudence will ever enter into his service; and that Martel, if his advice is followed after all that is past, will have the privilege to sell him to his enemies at his pleasure hereafter. This is a crisis, and a very important one for Peter, and if he is persuaded that he was misled in my case, I hope he will do justice to himself, to his reputation, and to his interest, by shewing a proper firmness in yours;"—"for if," he adds, "after all the surprise his friends in England have been under on his parting with some others, you should be added to the number without a just cause, I am persuaded that it would be a mortal blow to his interest; and I believe in my conscience that, except the Triumvirate and their creatures, there is no man who pretends to be his friend, of another opinion; and for God's sake let him be pleased to reflect, that factious endeavours are far from being a just reason to remove a person, against whose integrity they don't pretend to have the least objection. But it is an astonishing circumstance, when one considers,

that this faction is headed by one convicted of treachery himself, which is on my conscience, the most consummate piece of impudence that ever was seen in any age." However, in this instance at least, James, having taken his resolution, was determined to keep to it, and do justice to himself by a proper firmness. Writing to Atterbury (July 4, 1724), he says, "I think nothing can be more honourable for Mr. Hay, than the Duke of Mar's proceeding towards him; and I hope, before I receive your answer to this, you will have writ to him what may engage him to accept of the place I design for him. As long as that is in suspense, it only encourages the Duke of Mar to continue railing, and may be, imposing upon some honest people; whereas when once that is declared, those who wish me well, will not be so easily imposed on, and the Duke of Mar will see, that neither myself nor those who depend upon me, are to be bullyed by him, or hindered from doing, every one in his station, what may tend to the good of the cause."

Hay does not appear to have particularly noticed the calumnies and annoyances of Lord Mar, more than by writing a letter in vindication of himself to the Duke of Ormonde, whom, he thought, Mar and his party would take some pains to prejudice against him. After apologizing to the Duke for his long silence, his letter, which is dated August 12, 1724, states, "I am now in a manner forced to write in my own vindication; a work I thought my downright, plain, and sincere way of acting in whatever the King thought fit to employ me, would always have exempted me from. And it is to your Grace only I shall give any trouble on this head, since I shall be perfectly easy, if I find that some pains, which I don't doubt will be taken to give your Grace a bad impression of me, be of no effect; and for the generality of the world, I am persuaded a little time will do me justice with them, and that the

malice and spleen shown publickly by the Duke of Mar against me, will fall upon himself at last.

"I am really sorry at the little ways he is taking, and has been practising near these two years, to remove me from about the King; neither can I discover his reason for it, except it be because he believes I know more than he wishes I should, and may be ane obstacle to his carrying on some of his projects, which he had reason to think I could not approve. I have reason to believe that all he has been able to do, has hitherto had but little effect: he used, for a year and a half, all the fair means he could contrive, to make me leave the King's service, and, after this way of doing had not succeeded, and that he found that I had not been so much imposed upon by him, as he would have wished; he took the opportunity of my being last in France, to show more publickly his discontent, and has ever since been working diligently to destroy my character, by ways most unbecoming his rank in the world. I am resolved I will keep at a great distance from his way of acting; and though perhaps, were I to profit of it, I might find a pretty large field to work upon, yet I shall satisfy myself with asking the favour of your Grace, to suspend your judgment as to what may be said against me, for a little time; when I am persuaded in my conscience, it will be impossible for the art of man to conceal, who is in the right and who in the wrong." He then speaks of Lord Kinnoul, and concludes with "Forgive me, my Lord, for so much trouble, which I thought myself obliged to give your Grace as ane impartial judge, who never will have any thing in view but the good of the King's service, and will always be a protector to those who suffer unjustly. Your Grace's approbation of my conduct shall always make me despise all the little uneasinesses that the uprightest men are exposed to; and with that, nothing ever shall be capable of frightning me from continueing to imploy the

small talents God has given me, in serving the King and executeing his orders, in any form he shall prescribe to me."

This subject is again touched upon in the Appendix to Letter XXII.

LETTER XVIII. PAGE 85.

The differences between James and Clementina even at this period (May, 1724) had been of some standing; and it is probable that the calumny spread against Atterbury had reference to them; especially as we find that Hay himself, who is generally supposed (but erroneously as we think can be proved) to have been one principal cause of the disagreement, seems to be included. In his reply (May 23, 1724) to Murray's communication he observes, "I think 'tis a little hard upon the Queen, that she should be the subject of people's resentment against others. Had I said to the Bishop what is supposed, or had the Bishop been capable of repeating it, the publishing of these things is doing more mischief than either of our speaking them, especially privatly, and it is not pretended that the Bishop spoke in another manner; and shows plainly that the publisher of things of that kind, prefers his privat resentment to the good of the King's service, or the Queen's honour.

"I am perswaded that the main design of these contrivances are chiefly to give Peter uneasyness, in hopes, by that means, to tyre him out; and believing that at last, he will do what they would have him. Martel in one of his letters to Peter about a moneth ago, said that he was affray'd such sort of things might have been; which shows me pretty plainly, who has been the contriver. Past experience shows Peter the ways of dealing of some people, and I am perswaded he is sufficiently upon his guard

against them, and that those ways of doing, will have no manner of influence upon him." On the 15th of May Murray again writes to Mr. Hay, and, as mentioned in the note on page 85, encloses Atterbury's original letter, stating why he did so, and then adding, "This is a strange way of working, and if Mr. Knight dont come to a resolution to despise all storys, and to check those who write him any, in a remarkable manner, it is certain that neither he himself, nor any in his service, will have a moment's quiet." Hay's reply to this is dated June 6, and he therein says, "I have received yours of the 15th of May, with a letter to you [from the Bishop] inclosed, which show plainly the falsity of the story laid to the B[ishop's] charge. Pray does any body name the person that letter was wrote to from Brussels that gave the information? I fancy he who was pretended to be the writer is Mr. Bulstrade; I know he kept a correspondence with Mr. Glasco, and used to show some of the letters to the B[ishop]. Methinks one may easily get to the bottom of this, and the proving of it to be false, may satisfy people, and save them from the trouble of enquiring into such like stories for the future. I can assure you they have no effect upon Peter, but to confirm him in the little notice he takes of these things; and this is so well known, that nobody is at the pains to write these stories here; and if they were writ, Peter has been so used to them in former times, that they have no effect upon him." It is evident from these extracts, that in Hay's opinion this calumny, whatever it was, had been concocted by Mar in order to blacken the characters both of the Bishop and himself; and the disposition Mar was in at this time, and his known hostility to Mr. Hay, render it pretty certain, that the latter was right in his conjecture. Mar's letters of this period, teem with abuse of Hay.

LETTER XX. PAGE 87.

Lord Mar's letter to Atterbury that accompanied these Papers is dated May 29, 1724; he there says, "I carry the portefeuil myself, with the papers I promised you for your perusal .... There are twelve bundles of letters and other papers, besides the Narrative. I only mean them for your own perusall, and to be showen to nobody else. I have no copies of them, and they are of great concern to me; but I know they are in safe hands when in your possession, and after your perusall of them at your leisure, that you will restore them as they are now, and in the same order. I hope your Lordship will see clearly and be convinced by them, that I am not so much in the fault or to blame, as perhaps you may have heard or be made believe: and that I have done nothing unbecomeing an honest sincere man, nor to be ashamed of; but have done all in my power to serve my master, and the cause we have been so long and so much concerned in, and that I hope your Lordship shall still have a principall hand in bringing to a good and prosperous issue."

It must be observed that Mar, by this time, was quite aware of the awakened suspicions of the Jacobite Party, and of the sinister reports prevalent against him. He alludes to these, and to his having supplied the Bishop with the documents necessary to clear him from these aspersions, in a letter to James, dated June 5, 1724. "You wou'd," he states, "have accounts of a friend's being latly arived here from Flanders. I have been several times with him, and I hope we are very good friends. The way he and I had been in at our last parting, as well as since; the reguard that is due to him upon several accounts; the good of the service in generall; and, to do justice to truth and myself; made me think myself obliged to give him the fullest accounts I could of several things, parti-

cularly for these last four or five years, of what had passed with us on this side the sea; in which I found him but very lamly and ill informd, and that many false storys which had been designdly put about by malicious over bussie people, had not been without makeing some impression on him against some particular persons, in which great pains, I know, had been taken, espetially o' late: for doing of which I gave him papers to read which show'd a great many of those facts to demonstration, and not upon hearsay or takeing them upon this or that man's word: and these have taken up all the spair time he could bestow on reading them, for these eight dayes last past. He told me last night, that he wou'd be got quitt through them this day, and return them to me in the eavening; and nixt time we are togither, it is probable we may have some discourse about them. I own to set him right as to some points about myself, in which I found him very ill informed, was a principall view in my doing of this; but all I shall ever want for doing of that, with him or any body else, is to have the truth fully and impartially told; and when it is so, it is but just that people's characters and reputation should stand or fall by their actions."

This seeming air of frankness and plain dealing did not, however, satisfy either James or his friends. The Pretender, in pursuance of his policy of "not breaking openly with him," merely observed in his reply (June 26, 1724) to Mar's letter, "I am glad you are so well pleased with our friend lately come from Flanders. You can't place your confidence in a more valuable person, nor in one who wishes better to my person and cause; hiz zeal for which will be the rule, I am sure, of all his actions;" while in writing to Atterbury (July 4, 1724), and alluding to the information conveyed in Mar's letter, he observes, "Lord Mar writes to me, that he had communicated several Papers to you, and would have me believe that he is in pretty good terms with you: so that to the end you may have a

clear view of every thing, I send you several letters of his to me, and copies of mine to him.* His dated in the month of February, 1721,† with my answer, is all the information I can give you as to that affair; for I own to you, I have no particular remembrance of what passed further on that subject. You will see plainly how gross a mistake I made, in not sooner withdrawing my confidence from the Duke of Mar; but the point is now, neither to conceal nor vex oneself about what is past, but to provide for the remedy for the time to come; which is, I think, in great measure already effected." He then adds, "The other letters of the Duke of Mar which I send you, are of little moment in themselves, but were still necessary for you to have, that you might the more clearly see into the Duke of Mar's present politicks and way of proceeding, and by that, have the less anxiety of what hurt he may be able to do for the future; for I think there is something so low in his present conduct, that, by not trusting him in business on one hand, and not breaking openly with him on t'other, it will not be any longer in his power to do hurt to a cause, to which very few people, even as it is, think him sincerely attached."

Mr. Murray also, in writing to James, (June 10, 1724)

* These Letters, with one from James to the Bishop, composed the "large Packet," mentioned at the commencement of Letter XXII. There is a list of them in Edgar's hand writing, endorsed "List of Lord Mar's Letters and the King's answers to them, sent to the Bishop of Rochester, July 4, 1724." It contained the following; —

Duke of Mar to the King, dated February 3rd, 1721. December 20th, 1723. January 10th. January 23rd. February 21st. March 6th. March 27th. Aprile, 24th. May 15th. June 5th, and June 12th, 1724.

The King to the Duke of Mar, February 22nd, 1721. January 8th. February 7th. March 11th. March 27th. Aprile 18th. May 22nd. June 12th. June 19th, and June 26th, 1724.

† This refers to Mar's letter on the subject of the overtures made to him by the English Government respecting a pension; concerning which, further information is given in the Appendix to Letter XXII.

mentions the fact of Mar sending these Papers for Atterbury's perusal. "Martell himself," he observes, "has put into his [Atterbury's] hands, his portfeuil of letters, leaving it to him to judge of the part he has acted since he left Rome. I find that, notwithstanding the great air of sincerity which appeared at first in this behaviour, there are several letters wanting, and particularly of Martel's to Lord Stair; and that the sum of all he has shewn, of which there are many from yourself, amounts only to prove that you had consented in the strongest terms, to his taking a pension from George, as a measure which you thought might be extremely useful to you."

The assertion made by Murray in the above extract that certain important and necessary papers had been kept back, is clearly admitted by Mar himself in a letter he wrote to the Pretender on the 19th of July, 1724, wherein he complains bitterly of Hay's breach of confidence in furnishing Atterbury with the heads of the Memorial* that he (Mar) had sent to the Duke of Orleans; and states that "This Affair is laid to my charge as an Article of the Highest Treason; but that is not the only one, there being three or four others which he [Atterbury] has pickt out of some papers of my own that, in confidence, and, as I told him, as if he had been my confessor, I had laid before him for his information of some facts and points he wanted to be cleard in; but notwithstanding of this, he spoke of these last points or articles (as well as of the first) to Mr. Dillon and Mr. Dupper [Lord Lansdown] at least, before he mentioned them to me, save a very little he said upon a generall indemnity, tho' I had been severall times with him alone after his peruseing my papers, of which he never askt me any explanation: and, tho' these two gentlemen be my friends, this appears not very fair, since he had

* See Appendix to Letter XXII.

found these articles out of what I had, in such confidence, put into his hands. But I'll let this pass; and these articles give me very little pain, even were I to answer for them to the Parliament of England upon a Restoration, *I not being simple enough to have show'd him what wou'd militate against myself:* so I shall only name them, and referr saying any thing on them til another occasion, when it is likly I may give you a particular account of all that has past betwixt this Inquisitor and me since his comeing to this place;" "but," as he observes a little further on, "By all this the malice to me is pritty evident; but I wish the King and his intrest may not suffer by their makeing all this sputter about such things at this time, which can hurt nobody but the King and his cause, and do good no way."

From these observations of Lord Mar, the reader may arrive at Atterbury's real opinion respecting his Lordship's conduct, as exhibited by himself in the papers which contained, as he affected to believe, his justification; and apply many of the Bishop's expressions contained in this and Letter XX. in a manner very different to their ordinary acceptation.

LETTER XXI. PAGE 95.

Early in the year 1724, James wrote to Murray, (February 20), who was waiting at Paris to receive Atterbury, expressive of his earnest desire to hear of the Bishop's arrival; and of the importance he considered his presence there, likely to be to his affairs. "I shall" he observes, "be very impatient to know once, that you have been able to discourse with our true tho' infirm

friend, and to hear of his being in France. You can say to him many things which cannot be write, and an old acquaintance will open the door to freer conversation. He knows how much I depend upon his help and advice, and I am persuaded he will let nothing discourage him, tho' it may be, that some things he may see on this side of the water, will be more likely to have that effect than all he has of late undergone. They are new to him but not to us; and indeed, tho' such matters are always to be despised, I think they never deserved so much as at present, our contempt and neglect, which alone will put things into a right canal without éclat or inconvenience. I can never forget, neither what I am nor where I was born, no more than where I ought and desire to be; and by those views my conduct will be always directed, for I have but too much experience to guard me against advice that might lead me astray from those fixt points, tho' I have had enough of such of late. Enfin do all you can to hinder our infirm friend from being troubled or concerned at what, in reality, doth not deserve it, nor any other attention; but not to mind such matters, and to go on the straight and right road, whatever little rubs may be thrown in one's way." And in the letter he wrote (July 15, 1724) in answer to this of the Bishop, [No. xxi], he says, alluding to Atterbury's fears of being useless at Paris, "I am sensible your situation in that country, connot but be disagreeable to you; and the rather, that it carrys with it an appearance of being useless at this time. But after this where can we be agreeably, out of our own country, or where can you be more useful than in a place from whence, more than any where else, you have facilities of corresponding with my friends in all other places." It may also be gathered from Hay's reply (July 25, 1724) to one he had received from the Bishop, and which, apparently, contained a

similar observation, that he thought in the same way; for he there observes, "I differ from you in your opinion that there is not much room for ane intercourse betwixt you and the French court; and the more, because of what you say of Mr Dillon's situation with M. Le Duc [de Bourbon.] It is certain M. Le Duc finds his difficulties in pursueing his ministry; he has many enemies; he wishes the King's interest well; may not good use be made even of his tottering situation? Marishall Villars is a zealous friend of the King's; M. de Frejus always made strong professions, and tho' he is mighty timorous, yet would be obliged to follow the other two. The party the Duke of Orleans would act, I am afraid would be contrary; M. de Morville had his education in the ministry under Card. du Bois, and perhaps the Cardinal learn't him the way of getting money; perhaps promises, in case of success, might go a great way with him. Some governing ladies — cattel you dont much care to deall with —might likewise be gained that way. In short I am far from thinking this a time for being idle, and I am perswaded in a little time, the Bishop of Rochester will think so too;" and it was with the same feeling that, in reference to his observation respecting the house he had taken at Paris, James desired Hay to write (Aug. 8, 1724) as follows: "The King desires me to tell you that he would be extreme sorry, were you to have any thoughts of leaving Paris even six months hence; for in all probability, the greatest part of his affairs must centre there; and were Dillon to think never so right, I believe you see pretty plainly, how much he wants to be right guided; and how must the King's affairs be managed if you leave Paris?"

It appears to have been the Chevalier's first intention to employ Atterbury as an adviser to others, rather than as a direct negociator with the French Government; and

although, after Lord Mar's removal, he was considered to be the chief manager of the Pretender's affairs at Paris, this arose, probably, from it being found necessary to remove General Dillon also; whom James at one time, wished to retain for this particular service, in consequence of his being known to the French Ministry, and the free access he had to the Duke of Bourbon. That such was the view James at first took, is evident from Hay's letter to Murray, (April 4, 1724,) wherein he says—"Mr. Knight [the King] you may believe, does not intend to imploy our friend at the court where you are, the want of language is a plain obstacle to that, were it otherways adviseable and no other objection to it; to which his bad state of health and infirmity, is a great one. But Mr. Knight thinks he may be very useful to any person who may be employed there. Mr Knight thinks a good many friends may choise to correspond with our friend as to home affairs .... He thinks that our friend's being in your parts for some time, will go far to remove jealousies and diffidences that subsist at present, or at least occasion their being of no bad consequence for his service, which is the main thing to be look'd into." Murray seems to have agreed in these views respecting the Bishop, for in a letter to James (June 10, 1724,) he observes, "He has most certainly an admirable understanding, and therefore, tho' his want of languadge makes it difficult for him to treat personally with the French Ministers, yet if Mr. Dutton [General Dillon] had orders to consult with him, I am very sure that such advice would prevent the other's making many false steps. By all I can judge, no such orders have as yet been given, and therefore I submit to you, whether in that case, you will not think it for your service to supply this defect. He is full of zeal for the cause, and will, I am confident, be very glad to find room to act in it, in a manner that may be honourable for himself, and promote it effectually."

LETTER XXII. PAGE 97.

The occasion of issuing these "orders of secrecy" was the supposed favourable inclination of the Duke of Bourbon to the cause of the Chevalier, and the negociations then on foot between the French Government and the Czar, in his favour. Hay in a letter to the Bishop of Rochester, bearing date April 1, 1724, says, "You will have seen by a letter of the King's which you could not have received when you write last, what orders has been given to Mr. Dillon. You may, perhaps, think that they were given too early, but the Czar's forwardness, M. Le Duc's good humour, and the, I may say, advances the last made to the King, obliged him to it; for it would be a miserable thing, were any thing serious to be made out of those two persons, to nick its being mismanadged by going thorrow too many hands." The orders above mentioned were contained in James' letter to Dillon, dated February 25, 1724, and were to the following effect. "The importance of the secret in what relates to the Czar is very visible, but it is far greater in whatever concerns Mons. Le Duc. In a word, no less than my Restoration may depend entirely upon it, and, as that is the case, all other considerations of what nature soever, must yield to that; and therefore it is my positive directions, that whatever hath passed or may hereafter pass between you and Mons. Le Duc, Madame La Duchesse, or his ministers, should be communicated by you henceforth to nobody whatsoever without exception, either by word or by writing, but to myself and the Duke of Ormonde; and that you should write every thing relating to this branch of correspondence with your own hand, except in case of absolute necessity, when you may intrust one single person with this secret for your assistance; and as Daniel O'Brien may soon be with you, he may be the fittest to be so intrusted:

but still I leave to yourself, the choice of such an assistant. By this method I can be sure of the secret, which is what all my friends are extremely jealous of at this time: and you will take care to follow literally these directions, which are in consequence of the general measures I am taking, and rules I have laid down, for the future management of my affairs, on which I shall send you on all occasions, distinct directions to act by:" and so little inclined was he to give Dillon any excuse for deviation that, even as regarded Lord North, concerning whom Dillon had requested directions about what lengths he might go in point of confidence, at a contemplated meeting on the frontiers of French Flanders, James resolved to make no exception, and wrote (July 15, 1724) as follows: "Lord North is one I have a particular regard for, but should you happen to see him — the general directions I have already given you in relation to secrecy, must be your rule with him."

James, however, seemingly aware of Atterbury's jealous disposition, and the uneasiness he always felt and expressed, at the least appearance of any thing being transacted without his knowledge, thought it desirable to observe in his letter of the 4th of July, that "the strict orders about secrecy which I sent to Dillon, and which Mr. Hay mentioned to you, was a step unavoidable in the present circumstances. Dillon is much in Mons. Le Duc's private confidence, as he represents matters to me; which, joynd to his known character of probity, hinders me from determining myself as to the method of carrying on my affairs at Paris for the future; while his natural facility, and strict union with a certain person, [Lord Mar] makes it highly requisite to provide as much as possible, in the mean time, for the secrecy of affairs committed to his charge. He has been but too much used to let himself be prevented against those who have been successively in my personal confidence, for some years past, as the Duke of Mar himself

knows by his own experience; and as it is on his honesty and obedience alone that I can depend, there was a necessity of giving him such strict and plain orders, as would allow of no evasion, misinterpretation or latitude to be taken in the execution of them. Such are I think, those I have sent, and such could only be sufficient to make me have a tryall of how far I may depend on Dillon, and how far it might be adviseable to leave my busyness in his hands. If I find by experience, that he does not keep to them, I must take other measures; but if he should, a little time will also plainly discover to him, the mistakes he at present lyes under, and the way and manner in which I expect to be served by him. Should this last case happen, as I hope it will soon, I may venture the going further lengths with him, and I may hope to be obeyed, when I shall direct him to impart every thing to you, and to be guided by your advice and yours alone, in the management of the affairs committed to his care. By this method I shall, I hope, provide effectually for the good of my service; and it was to bring this about the more prudently and the more securely, that engaged me to send the orders above mentioned." And to put the Bishop still more at his ease, he wrote on the 19th of August as follows:—"I have by this post, wrote to Dillon to confer frequently and freely with you upon my affairs, and to you only; directing him to endeavour to engage Mons. Le Duc to have a free and direct communication with you. By this means, a very small time will show you, what part Dillon is like to act; and equally prepare the way to bring you into Mons. Le Duc's confidence, and to remove the other from it, if that step should become necessary. I also had a natural occasion by this post, to mention you to Daniel O'Bryen, and to encourage his giving you what lights come to his knowledge as to my affairs. By what I know of him, he is a young man of merit, and has behaved himself very

well in the affairs lately committed to his care. As for the present he cannot, indeed, know much of my affairs, but however, by conversing with him sometimes, you may be the better able to form a judgment of Dillon, and to bring him back into the right way, if that be possible; for it is of absolute necessity, that not only the Duke of Mar, but all who have confidence in him, should be removed from mine; and that shall be done soon, but with caution; and the truth is, that the few adherents he has left, if they do not soon quit him, will make themselves very despicable, and not any further worthy of my notice."

PAGE 98.

The Chevalier had already received intelligence of Lord Kinnoul's defection, when Dillon, on the 26th of June, wrote to acquaint him with it. He seems to have had some suspicion that the information had already been communicated to James, for he begins by observing "I presume you may be informed of Lord Kinnoul's unexpected change," and then adds, "He goes often to court of late, and, it is said, he is sometimes with the Duke of Hanover in private. You may be sure this is no small alarm to your principall friends in that country; and the more, that they apprehend the example may be followed by others. This account came to Paris about three weeks agoe, and as I can't tell if such as received it, have judged proper to inform Forrester [the King], I should think it a fault in me not to do it; since I have laid down as a steadfast rule, not to conceal any thing from him that may regard his person and interest .... The Bishop of Rochester had a long discourse with me on this head:—He draws many disincouraging inferences from what may ensue. It is true, much may be said on the subject, but I think this

is saying enough, to one of the King's experience and penetration, and don't doubt his attending seriously to all relative consequences." James answered this (July 15, 1724) by merely stating that he had already received the intelligence, and that time only could show the consequences of such a step. He was evidently cautious of imparting his real sentiments to Dillon, fearing they might be communicated to Mar; but this, not being the case with regard to Atterbury, he observes in writing to him, (July 15, 1724) "What may be the consequences of Lord Kinnoul's late conduct, is not easy to be determined; but I think there is too much reason to fear, that the Government will endeavour to divide, if possible by soft means, the loyal party on their side; and that nothing will be neglected by a certain person [Lord Mar] at Paris, to create divisions and jealousies amongst us on this."

In writing to Atterbury on this subject (July 4, 1724), Hay thus expresses himself, "I have seen a letter write to a friend of mine here, which gives me a great deal of uneasiness. It says that Lord Kinnoul has been to wait of Elector of Hannover, and that it is believed he has accepted of 1000*l.* pension. I hope in God, my information is bad; but pray put me at ease as to this. If it be so, I shall certainly desire to be no more entrusted by the King; and I would not for the world, that the King should employ one, who has a brother capable of an action of that nature. This, indeed, answers to the usage Lord Kinnoul has given me this long time; for though I never had but one letter from him this nine years, yet he always, from time to time by other hands, sent me money; but these fifteen months I have heard nothing of him. Forgive me for being a good deal troubled at what touches me so near." A fortnight afterwards, (July 18, 1724) he again writes to the Bishop, to correct a mistake he had fallen into in his former communication, respecting the one letter he had

there stated to have received from his brother, since he had been abroad, and which he now asserts to be not a letter, but "only a short state of my affairs written by his hand." He then adds, "Pray may not this sudden change in my brother's way of thinking, proceed from a politick of Lord Mar? who had always a good deal of influence over him; and I make no doubt of his using his endeavour to make a sacrifice of one brother, to be revenged of another. I had been so long of hearing from my brother, that I had some thoughts of sending Mr. Murray's sister [Hay's wife] over, to endeavour to bring my affairs to some certainty. Mr. Murray seems to think now, that I ought to lose no time in doing it, before my brother be hardened in the new way he has taken himself to. I own, I differ with him in opinion: I am afraid the sending her will signify nothing, since I believe, one of his motives for changing sides may be, that he may enjoy that which he knows to belong to me, undisturbed; and that he may have the privilege of canting — that he can't support one that is acting against a Government which he serves. I would fain hope my information about him is wrong. Forgive me for troubling you with my own private concerns; but I hope the concern I am in to think, that one I loved so well and was so nearly related to, should act the part of an insignificant mercenary tool, void of principle or common sense, will plead my excuse." And in another letter to the Bishop (Aug. 8, 1724) he says, "I am sorry malice should go so far as to make me answerable for his [Lord Kinnoul's] behaviour; but I am pretty easy on the matter, since I am very sure, that a little time will make it clear, that I have not had any manner of knowledge even of his private affairs, except what the Duke of Mar informed me of .... and to this day, I don't know whether he lost or won in the South Sea: his usage of me and his late conduct, makes me suspect the first:" and the little communication that had

been kept up between the brothers, is confirmed by a passage in one of James' letters to Mr. Lockhart, (March 21, 1725) where it is observed, "Lord Kinnoul's conduct has indeed been unaccountable. I am ignorant what his correspondence might ever have been on this side the sea, or thorow whose hands it passed, but I never had any with him myself; neither had his brother since they parted: and even before his late ill usage towards him, and when he was look't upon as a stanch friend, I have heard his brother complain of his excessive caution in never writing to him."

In his letter to Atterbury of the 8th of August, Hay has observed, "that he should be glad to know the words that had been put into the Duke of Hannover's mouth, to say to Lord Kinnoul when he was introduced to him;" and we are enabled, from one of Mar's letters, to give the conversation which then took place between K. George I. and his Lordship, as it was reported by one who, if not present on the occasion, which seems probable, was certainly in London at the time. This information is contained in a letter to the Pretender, dated July 20, 1724, and as the reader by this time, must be aware of the character and designs of Lord Mar, it is given entire, as exhibiting a rich specimen of his tactics, and his unrelenting hostility to Mr. Hay.

Paris, July 20th, 1724.

I give you the trouble of this, Sir, at the desire and upon the account of, Mr. de Marches. It seems he has heard that a thing he had, without any designe, told concerning Lord Kinnoul's being introduced to K. G. [King George] and what then past, is talkt of here; and apprehending that some other gloss may be put on it and wrote to you, than he meant, he is desirous to have the thing sent right in case it has, or should be so.

What he said to me of it the day he arrived, before Mad. de Mezier and Mad. de Marches, and he says he spoke of it to nobody else, was upon my asking him news of Lord Kinnoul, and is as follows:

K. G. Le Colonel Hay qui est à Rome aupres du P.—— est il votre parent?

Ld. K. Oui, Sire, il est mon frère.

K. G. Ha! J'en suis bien aise, on dit qu'il est fort honneste homme, et il se conduit fort sagement.

M. de Marches said, that people at London belived all this to be said by K. G. [King George] without any malice, and he did not tel it as a thing of consequence, or to have any extraordinary meaning under it, and only spoke of it in a laughing maner to me, who he knew, was alied to Ld. Kinnoul; as I did to one or two: wondering how K. G. after being so long in that country, could be so ignorant of the families of it, and know so little of their relations, when they were people who had been talkt of; how he could ask so extraordinar a question upon that occasion, and how surprized and embarast Ld. Kinnoul wou'd be at it.

I have wrote to you a good dale of late about Mr. Hay, but this thing I did not think worth while to mention. I wish he had keept the secrets of your affairs as well from some of those who are thought to be your friends, as I hope and belive, he has done from your enimies; however unfairly he has acted by me, in the particulars I have before and now wrote of in my other letter, without his haveing any reguard to the dirtyness of the thing on his own part, or the mischivous consequence it could not fail of haveing to you, I do not belive him yet so abandoned as to have entred into plots with your enimies against you, and I hope he will ever be incapable of doing it.

I did not care to mention Lord Kinnoul to you, since I heard of his changing his maner of acting, and as he has never been a correspondant of mine since I came abroad,

I know nothing about it but what is publick; and I shall say little of him still, tho' I have now occasion to name him. I had a particular friendshipe for him I own, beside the ty of alliance. I was farr from expecting this change in him,—am quitt ignorent of the motives that induced him to it, and exceeding sory for it. However I hope it will be found, that he has done more hurt to himself by it, than it will, I hope, prove to you; but I must still have the charity for him til I see proof to the contrair, to belive him incapable of betraying or discovering any thing of your affairs or those concern'd in them; tho' at the same time, I cannot but acknowledge, that it is naturall for some of your friends with whom he may have had dealings, as they may have with you, to have some apprehentions about it, as I hear they have."

The tone of this letter and the insinuation it contains against Hay's fidelity, sufficiently indicate the character of Mar's feelings towards him, and the means he did not scruple to employ, in order to injure him in James' estimation. In addition to these direct attacks, Hay was of opinion, that the same object was aimed at, and the Chevalier's confidence in him further attempted to be shaken, through his brother, whose behaviour he attributed to Lord Mar's influence over him, notwithstanding the different impression intended to be conveyed by the above letter. He was also inclined to think, that Mar was, in some way or other, concerned in propagating the report of the conversation between K. George I. and Lord Kinnoul; for, in reference to this dialogue, he says, in a letter he addressed to Atterbury on the 8th of Aug. 1724, "This has a good deal of the air of Lord Mar's politicks, and I am apt to believe, whether true or false, he is the author of it. If true, had I an opportunity, I would thank him, and assure him that I'll continue to acquire yet a greater character from him, in the same way I have succeeded so well

hitherto; and if I have deserved a French compliment from the Duke of Hannover, I hope I shall one day show him, that there are those who can resist temptations of money as well as words, and value their honour more than any thing whatsoever. This trifle shows one how politicks are working, and I hope in God, few will be catch'd in the general snare that seems to be layd for all the world." And it was with the same feeling that, a week later, (August 15) he writes again to the Bishop as follows: "We have a famous spy here, a Prussian, who has actually a pension from the Elector of Hannover, and is protected by the Emperor's minister at this court. I have been often surprized to hear, that this fellow, who goes into all sorts of company, mist no occasion of saying all the good of me he could contrive, tho' I never spoke a word to him in my life. He went so far as to say to a person who, I believe, he was perswaded would repeat it to me again, that the Elector of Hannover had the same opinion of me that he had; and that I was the only person about the King, the Elector would wish to have in his service. Add to this, My Lord Kinnoul's way of using me for some time past, and the sudden change he took; for he sent me 150*l.*, with a promise to the person that remitted me the money, that he would send me as much, the month after; but that never came: nor could, ever since, any one get a favourable word from him. I say all this makes me suspect a management of a pretty old standing, and from whose advice it originally came."

It was about this time (Aug. 12, 1724) that he wrote to the Duke of Ormonde, expressing the uneasiness he felt at his brother's conduct, "The late accounts," he observes to the Duke, "I have had of My Lord Kinnoul's behaviour, has given me a great deall of trouble: and pains has been taken to insinuate as if he had acted in concert with me. A little time will make those who have given this mali-

cious turn to this affair, ashamed of themselves; and tho' I despise it very much, yet give me leave to assure your Grace, that I have not received one letter from My Lord Kinnoul since I have been abroad. My father when alive, sent me money from time to time, and then indeed my brother was my advocate; but since I was in Spain, when my father dyed, I can't say he has used me so well, tho' he is now in possession of my estate, which my father was not; and I have not received a farthing from home, now near two years, which has made me so uneasy, that I have been obliged to send Mrs. Hay over to make the last effort, that so I may have nothing to reproach myself with: for when I was last in France and Holland, I write over to three different persons who use to transact my private affairs, but never could receive any answer from my brother, by any of them. I am afraid he has suffered in the South Sea, which is the occasion of his extraordinary behaviour of late; tho' that does not vindicate him, neither shall I ever pretend to do it after this, which upon honour, is fact. I believe your Grace won't think my being any ways concerned in his late conduct, is probable. Tho' I was void of principle and honour, and had not inviolable tyes and obligations to follow the King's fortune as long as I live,— I scorn to owe the least obligation to the Government of England: but as the Duke of Mar is of a different opinion, so he may believe me to be as easy on that head, as he is himself."

And he closes his observations on Mar's and his brother's conduct towards him at this particular time, by observing, in another letter he forwarded to Atterbury on the 19th of September, 1724, "I am more confirmed than ever, of the malice of a certain person against myself, and the use that is endeavoured to be made of the Earl of Kinnoul's conduct; and the long and frequent meetings the Duke of Mar's brother had with Mr. Walpole, makes me believe

all that affair was concerted on this side of the water. But I have said enough on this subject."

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Hay was still disinclined to be openly acknowledged as Lord Mar's successor. He appears to have imagined that such a step, at this particular juncture, would materially increase the difficulties in the way of a settlement of his own affairs in England; and that his brother, Lord Kinnoul, would make that an additional reason for witholding his property. In a letter to the Bishop dated July, 18, 1724, he, not probably contemplating Atterbury's urgent advice as given in his communication to James of the 23d of July, observes "I am entirely ignorant that ever the king's view with relation to Mr. Hay was imparted to our friend in Spain [the Duke of Ormonde] from this country. For my own part I never mentioned it to any body but Mr. Murray; neither do I know that our friend in Spain ever wrote anything pro or con, on that matter to any person here; and I must earnestly now beg the favor of you, that you would assist me in dissuading the king from thinking of any thing of that kind, at least till I see I can get anything drawn from my friends at home. You can't be ignorant of the ticklish situation that any person employed by the king, must be in, and the desire he must have, in case of any accidents happening to him, at least to have bread and water secure to him; and as this is no ways my case at present, and that a declaration of the king's confidence in me, would furnish a new pretext to my brother not to do me justice, I hope the king won't do anything that may obstruct my having what belongs to me; especially since his service does not require it. After that, should my asking my own of my brother, be thought any

ways inconvenient, or my being entirely a beggar, could be of any service to the king, or enable me to serve him to more advantage for never so short a time—I declare to you that I am ready to sacrifice every private advantage of my own, to the good of his service; and I dont exagerate when I say to you, that I have not the least thought about myself, when there is any question of his service."

Long however, before this letter could reach its destination, Atterbury had dispatched his own view of the question, with a strong recommendation that it should be forthwith decided by the public declaration of Mr. Hay's appointment. What effect this advice had upon James, being, as it was, so completely in accordance with his own wishes, may be seen by a passage from one of Hay's Letters to Murray, written (Aug. 8, 1724) soon after the receipt of the Bishop's. He there observes, "Your sister set out Yesterday ..... I thought it necessary to press her journey, because of Peter's pressing me on the affair I have so often mentioned to you; and was I once to yield to that, I could expect nothing from home; therefore a delay in that, I think, is but reasonable, till I can see what is to be done for me there; and a little time will show this, and then I shall be at ease and know that I have not suffered by my own neglect or bad conduct. Write to the B[ishop] pray, on this, for I find he is keener upon Peter's speaking out with relation to me, than formerly, and thinks that my brother's conduct is an argument to hasten it. It may be so, but after all, People's speaking and railing for a few months more, is all the harm that can happen from a delay, and when Peter thinks fit to declare himself at last, every thing, I am persuaded, will succumb."

In the reasonableness of this view, James himself appears to have agreed, for in his next communication to Atterbury (Aug. 12, 1724) he observes, "I am entirely of your opinion that this would be a proper time to declare my

intentions as to Lumnsden; but that is become impracticable, 'till his wife is returned from t'other side. I wish indeed on that account, that journey could have been avoided; but how conld her husband neglect any lawful step to secure bread to her, and how could I obstruct it, when I can do nothing for them myself? and since that step is taken, I am persuaded, it may even turn to advantage one way, by showing impartial persons, how little Mr. Lumsden had any dealings with his brother. All therefore that can be done now in that respect, is to continue to employ Lumnsden as usual, and as much more as occasion offers. Norton [General Dillon] knows I do and will employ him in business; some persons in Garroway [England] are acquainted with my confidence in him, and know by their own experience, how worthy he is of it; since all the Correspondence that ever past betwixt them and me directly for some years past, has never come to light. By this day's post, I write to Jamieson [Duke of Ormonde] at large, to inform him of my resolution as to Mr. Lumnsden as soon as his wife returns, and of my employing him and trusting him in business in the mean time; adding that none but him and you, know or shall know of the post I design for him, till it is declared. This is all that could be done at present, and with these precautions, a small delay of a publick appearance will, I think, be of no ill consequence; hence the farther things go on, the more his integrity and another's [Lord Mar] true character, must necessarily appear to the world."

Atterbury appears also to have written to Hay himself on the matter, at the time he forwarded this letter to the Chevalier (July 23, 1724.) as appears by one of Hay's letters, dated August 15, 1724 in reply, and in which he says " I think it would be as much wrong in me to decline serving the king when 'tis thought fit I should serve him, as to be desirous to remain in his service to the prejudice

of it. What you are pleased to say on this article, makes me recollect a continued tract of management with relation to me for these two years past: The Duke of Mar endeavoured by repeated letters, to persuade me to leave Rome; always pretending my advantage from it, and upon pretence of a great many stories and lyes that were without any manner of foundation; and, tho' supposed to have their rise from hence, yet were perfectly new, when they came from Paris hither." And the devotedness, he here expresses, is repeated in a letter to Murray dated Feb. 5, 1725, "I have already considered and foreseen the inconveniences that may happen to me, from the resolution Peter has taken, and which he will declare as soon as he knows that Mrs. Hay is on this side of the water. And since it may be anyways convenient for his service, I am resolved, as I ever shall, to sacrifice every thing personal, to his satisfaction and the good of the cause."

On Mrs. Hay's return, James immediately declared her husband Secretary of State, and created him Earl of Inverness: and thus expresses the satisfaction he felt at having taken this step, in a letter he wrote to Lord Orrery (March 17, 1725). "I was glad to find friends with you were so well satisfied with Lady Inverness's conduct during her misfortunes, which have given me new occasions of seing how faithful a servant I have in her husband. I have at last declared him Secretary of State, and I thank God, my affairs are now on such a footing on this side of the sea, that my friends on t'other, have nothing to apprehend from treachery or indiscretion; and the Government will I believe, be for the future, much more in the dark than they were formerly, as to my affairs."

There is no reason to believe that Mrs. Hay's journey to England, mentioned in these extracts, had the slightest reference to Politicks; but that it was really and simply, a mission undertaken to attempt an adjustment of her hus-

band's affairs with Lord Kinnoul. Atterbury, it would appear from a passage in Hay's letter to him of Aug. 28, 1724, was averse to the journey, for he therein says, "If I have made a wrong step in sending Mrs. Hay from hence, I hope you will have partly rectifyed it, in putting a stop to her journey to England, which will be adding a new obligation to the many others I have already received from you. I desired her to follow your advice in every particular; and as for myself, nothing shall hinder me from continueing to act that part I am ingadged now to pursue for the good of the cause and the king's honour and satisfaction, which are and shall be, the only rules for my conduct." Murray also seems to have had some misgivings as to his sister's treatment, for he tells her husband (Octr. 23, 1724), "I prepared her before she left this [Paris], for being taken up and examined by the Council, and even for being sent back therafter, if your brother should sollicite it."

She was arrested almost immediately after landing at Dover, and conveyed to London in the custody of a Messenger. The Government, suspecting that she might be employed as the agent for maturing some plot, had her committed to Newgate; but being afterwards satisfied that the ostensible object of her coming was the real one, she was in a short time liberated, and soon afterwards returned to the Continent.

On the receipt of the intelligence of her arrest, James wrote to the Bishop of Frejus (Nov. 7, 1724), informing him, "de ce qui est arrivé à Madame Hay," and assuring him that "son état me donne une juste peine, et une plus grande à la Reine, qui en a escrite a Mad. Le Duchesse pour la prier d'obtenir du Roy T. C. et de Mons. Le Duc que S. M. veuille bien ordonner à son Ministre à Londres, de solliciter la liberté de cette Dame. Selon les loix même du Gouvernement présent, Elle n'est pas coupable d'aucune crime, et je dois vous assurer de plus, qu'elle n'est

chargée d'aucune commission, même verbal, de ma parte, ou de la parte d'aucune autre, sur des matières politiques. Ses affaires de Famille l'ayant uniquement portée en Angleterre, de sorte que ce seroit violer les loix les plus sacrées, que de continuer sa détention, qui devient uniquement une affaire de justice, et nullement de politique ; et cela étant, je ne vois pas que S. M. T. C. puisse avoir aucune difficulté à s'y intéresser. Je vous prie comme un sincere amy, de vouloir bien appuyer la recommandation de la Reine, et d'en hâter l'effet d'autant plus, que la Reine voudroit avoir cette dame aupres d'elle a ses couches, et qu'elle a pour elle une affection particulière. Ma confiance en votre amitié en cette occasion est extrême, et réponde a celle que j'aurai toujours pour vous." The letter of Clementina to the Duchess of Bourbon contained the same assurance as to the real object of Mrs. Hay's journey, " Je vous déclare de plus Madame," she observes, " de la part du Roy et de la mienne, que Mad. Hay n'a entreprise ce voyage par aucun autre vue, que pour régler les affaires de famille;" and such being the case, she then expresses a hope that the Duchess will have no difficulty in employing her good offices, both with the King of France and her son the Duke of Bourbon, in obtaining the requisite instructions for the French Ambassador to solicit her release; and strengthens her request by observing that " dans l'état où je suis, je suis sure que vous ne me refuserez pas ce plaisir, et que le Roy vous l'accordera si vous la demandez comme une grace faite à vous même. Vous me ferez par là, une, qui me touchera d'autant plus a présent, que les soins et les services de Mad. Hay me seront d'une grande consolation pendant mes couches, je vous en aurai une obligation éternelle;" and we find this expression of Clementina's wish to have Mrs. Hay near her on this occasion, again confirmed by James himself in a letter he wrote (March 17, 1725) to Mr. Cesar, where after mentioning that he

had declared Lord Inverness his Secretary of State, says in reference to Mrs. Hay, "The Lady (Inverness) is arrived here in five weeks from London, the Queen having much press'd her journey to have her here at her labour, which happening a month sooner than was expected, she came too late; and I am extremely glad to find you are so well pleased with her conduct."

The letters of James and Clementina were forwarded in one from Hay to Atterbury of the same date; in the post-script of which he says, "Since I finished my letter to you, the King has been so gracious as to give me the two inclosed, desiring that I would forward them to you, that so you may make use of them if there be occasion for it, tho' I reckon, Mrs. Hay's affair must, in all probability, be over before this reaches you. Nevertheless the two inclosed, are tokens of their Majesties goodness towards her, which I shall never think myself sufficiently in a condition to acknowledge, as long as I live. The case may happen that these letters may be of use; if so, I hope you'll pardon me for the trouble you may be at, in having them delivered, and in knowing that M. Le Duc certainly sends his orders to his minister at London. That minister I am hopeful, will execute any orders he receives on that score, with vigour."

These endeavours of James and Clementina, to interest the court of France in Mrs. Hay's favour, were not the only efforts made on this occasion. Hay wrote to Atterbury on the 5th of December, 1724, informing him that "Cardinal Polignac and Cardinal Gualterio are both to write this post directly to M. Le Duc in Mrs. Hay's favour. Cardinal de Rohan is likewise to be write to by Cardinal Gualterio, and the King having an occasion to write to Cardinal de Rohan, has likewise mentioned the same thing: and as they all in their letters, refer to the King and Queen's letters which I sent you sometime ago, to

Madame La Duchesse and M. de Frejus, it may be necessary that these letters be delivered now, if, for any particular reasons, you may have thought fit to keep them up hitherto: and tho' Mrs. Hay should be at liberty, and that the letters may be useless, the carrying of these letters will still give an occasion to the person who is charged to deliver them, who I suppose may be James Murray, to say something to these people upon other concerns. I beg pardon for the trouble I give you on my own account, — the freedom with which I am used to write to you on other concerns, makes me that I can't hold my hand in what relates to Mrs. Hay, so I'll make no further apology, wishing you all happiness."

It would appear from another letter of Hay to Murray (January 30, 1725) that the French minister had been instructed to make the required solicitation; but by the time he received his instructions, the affair had been settled. "As for Mrs. Hay's affair," observes her husband, "I am very sorry that the Bishop and others should have had so much trouble about it. Cardinal Polignac told me that he had received [an] answer to what he wrote on that subject; and that when the minister was ready to have interposed his good offices, he found the affair was already settled." She joined her husband at Rome in March, 1725.

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If any particular letter of Mar to James on the subject of the Clans, could have called forth Atterbury's animadversion, it was probably that dated April 24, 1724, from which the following extracts are taken.

"It is with great concern, Sir, that I find myself oblidg'd to write once more with respect to your poor starveing people, my countrymen, here, particularly those of the

Clans and Highlands: and were it not that I fear you are not aware of the danger you are in, by your present way of doing, and that I am oblidg'd upon your own account and that of my country, as well as theirs, to advertice you of it before it be too late, I can assure you I would not give you the trouble; finding the little impression made by or reguard had, to any thing I have wrote for some time past; the reason of which is not, I believe, very hard to guess. But I will not give you the uneasiness of mentioning it now.

"Might I so farr presum without offence, I would with all submission ask, why you are takeing as it were, pains to disoblidge and loose the inclinations of those gentlemen, who merit so well at your hands? Forgive my expressing it so, for so they themselves take it; thinking you neglect them — are indifferent of their starveing — and even unwilling to go into any thing that's proposed for their relife."

Almost the whole letter, which is a very long one, is upon this subject and in the same strain. In one part he tells James, "Your being in present want and not in cash, will not excuse you with them nor the world, I fear, when the thing comes to be knowen; for non will belive that you are so low or abandoned by all the world, that you cannot find as much as wou'd mentain so small an handfull as are now abroad, unprovided, of your people, who are so necessary for your service: and as to your giveing to non out of Italy, it will be thought a lame excuse and plead little for you, if any thing." James replied to this (May 22, 1724) cautiously, and evidently acting still on the determination he had taken of not, as yet, breaking openly with him. "I take," he observes, "as kindly as you mean it, what you represent to me in relation to the Clans. You are witness yourself, how sensible I have been all along of their condition, and that I have neglected nothing in my power towards their relief. I hope a new Pope,

whoever he may be, will enable me to provide for it; but that shall not hinder my continuing proper measures elsewhere, for the same end. I want, I can assure you, no spur in these matters, nor no motive of self interest to prompt me to do all I can, for such brave and deserving subjects; who, whatever you may suspect them of, are I am sure, incapable of acting against their duty and honour; so that I am entirely easy and satisfied on these heads, both with myself and them. My only concern is, that I am unable just now, to do what I would, and they stand in such need of; but as I have ever supplied them as I could, so the first money I can get, shall certainly be employed upon them; but as it is I have neither money nor credit." And in a letter to Atterbury of July 4, 1724, James, after stating what, in his opinion, would be the effect of "not breaking openly" with Mar, observes, "I plainly see that the pains he is taking to make the Clans out of humour with me, will only end in their discovering the sooner, what he is himself; for I believe they are sufficiently convinced of my regard for them."

Whether these representations of Mar were true or overcharged, may be judged of by what Atterbury here mentions as being the opinion of Earl Marischal who, we know, was held in high estimation by his exiled countrymen, and was besides, a firm friend to James: nor is it difficult, from his previous proceedings, to comprehend Mar's object in the course he was now pursuing, and which appears to have been clearly seen through by Hay, who thus expresses his opinion in a letter he wrote on the 16th of May, 1724, to Mr. Murray; "I find the present politick Martel [Lord Mar] is pushing now, is to make up a strickt friendship with some of the Clanns; and this he does att Peter's [the King's] expence, perswadeing them that they are ill used, neglected, and no regard had for them; all this perhaps with a view to gett some of them to accept of

terms from George, when he shall think fitt to accept of them for himself publickly; and the consequences I need not explain." And in a subsequent letter to Atterbury himself (July 25, 1724) he observes, "It is very remarkable att present, that the Duke of Mar is makeing friends as much as possible, with all the world; and att the same time, as he thinks he gains grownd, his chief concern is to preach up to them discontent, mismanedgements, dispair, bad usage, and every thing else, that is discourageing; att the same time that he knows, that he has been the sole manager att Paris, this severall years past."

James himself wrote a letter (August 27, 1724) and transmitted some money to Lord Tullibardine. In it, after lamenting the illness of his Lordship's father (the Duke of Atholl) and expressing the satisfaction he felt at being informed that his brother, Lord James [Murray] held the same sentiments as he (Lord Tullibardine) himself, he observes "Your uneasy circumstances for some time past gave me the more concern, that I was utterly unable to give you that relief they required. I am far from disapproving those sentiments, which engaged you to return hither, the small supply I lately sent you; but as I am sensible how much you must want it, I have added another bill of the same value to it, which I here send you both together, and which I hope you will not refuse from my own hand; and the rather, that I hope you will not now ere long stand in need of such small marks of my regard for you: 'tho I earnestly desire to be soon in a condition of giving you the most honourable and essential proofs of my great value and friendship for you."

The above Letter was conveyed to Atterbury enclosed in one from Hay to the Bishop, dated August 28, 1724, by which we learn that in consequence of the extremely precarious state of the Duke of Atholl's health, it was thought of "the greatest consequence that his son

should be putt in good humour att present," and he therefore "takes the liberty to send inclosed, a letter of the King's for Lord Tullibardine, who is liveing near Paris; inclosed there is two Bills for one thousand livres each. I had sent him one of the Bills formerly, but tho' he wants money, he would not accept of it. He is prodigiously angry att the usage he has mett with from the Duke of Mar of late years, and I can't say he is altogether in the wrong, tho' he is mighty whimsical as you'll easily be informed." James, from time to time and as he could spare it, forwarded money for the support of the Scottish Chiefs at Paris. In Hay's Letter to Murray, Feb. 13, 1725, it is stated that although "Peter gives no pensions to any one in France, except to Sir Hector Maclean, and 100 livres a month to Mr Booth for his family, tho' he himself I am afrayed, deserves it but little"—yet "He has sent lately some money to the Clans viz. Lord Tullibardine, Lord Seafort, Lochyeal, and Clanronold, and some small matter to John Paterson, but no regular pension."

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It is not improbable, when Mar left Rome on the Chevalier's going to Madrid in 1719, that he did so with an intention not to return thither. The reply which James made (Feb. 22, 1721) to the letter written by Mar (Feb. 3, 1721) acquainting him with the offers of the English Government, and announcing his acceptance of them, seems confirmatory of this view; for it proves that Mar had been framing excuses, and pleading that he could not, on any account, undergo the fatigues of his former post. He probably considered that a residence at Paris would be more convenient than any other place, for carrying on his negociations with England respecting the Pension, which is

proved by the letter above mentioned, to have been offered to him; — and there he eventually took up his abode.

True to the principles which seem to have guided him through life, and by which he acquired among his countrymen the nick-name of "bobbing John," and gave his enemies the opportunity of observing, that his mind was as crooked as his body — Mar endeavoured to trim between his inclination to serve James, and his desire to obtain the favourable consideration of the English Government; but, like most other trimmers, failed in attaining any thing but the contempt of either party. If the most favourable view of his conduct be taken, by supposing him at this time, to be convinced of the utter hopelessness of the cause he had espoused; yet nothing can excuse the crooked policy he adopted, of attempting to serve two masters. He must, we may suppose, have been too much experienced in the ways of the world, not to know that the English Government would require something more at his hands, for a pension of 3500*l.* a year, which he acknowledged "to make as much as the value of his whole effects, were they put into his hands as he had them formerly," than merely for him "to continue not to meddle in affairs as he has done for some time past." And this indeed was proved by the event, for it was on the ground of the favours conferred upon him by George I., that Colonel Churchill's subsequent negociation with him on the subject of the intended attempt in 1722 was based — the result of which was the writing and sending by the post, the letter which caused the arrest of Atterbury.

Both Mr. Murray and the Bishop wrote to Hay for information on the subject of Mar's pension; about which Atterbury seems to have received some intimation while residing at Brussels; from which place he wrote. His letter has not been found; but Hay in a reply, dated April 1, 172*4*, observes, "As to what you desire to know,

in what manner the consent was given to the receiveing of the Pention; I must own to you, I am very loath to say any thing upon that subject; neither really can I, except it appeared publickly to be for the King's service my doing of it. All I shall say is, that the King was acquainted with the offers made to D. Mar, but in such a manner, and so late, that it is scarce to be believed any answer the King could make, would have altered D. Mar's views; and the King's answer is, in effect, no concent, since he could not have write otherwise to one who had received offers from the Government of England, and, I may say, accepted of them; reserveing only to himself, the liberty of acquainting the king with them, and, as he says, retracting; considering that he still pretended to preserve the same fidelity to the King as formerly. The misfortune is, that he should ever have been trusted in business afterwards; but then he was so linked in with other persons, that it was not easy to avoid it. This I write to you in the greatest confidence, and expect that you'll make no publick use of it."

Murray's letter is still in existence, and is dated April 9, 1724. In it, he says, "I must beg the favour of Mr. Knight [the King] to give you leave to inform me of one particular for my own satisfaction; and he may be sure that I'm incapable of making a bad use of it, or any at all, without his permission. I was told by a friend of Mr. Martel's [Lord Mar] in relation to his pension, which he finds to be a load upon him in the opinion of the publick, that the proposal was made to his wife, to his great surprize; and that the moment she acquainted him with it, he informed Mr. Dutton [Dillon] and his other friend [Lord Lansdown] of the matter, and told them, he was heartily sorry that such a proposal had ever been made; because he foresaw, that his refusing to accept it, would draw a new storm upon him; but that Mr. Knight should judge of the matter and

decide what should be done in it. Upon this, the same person (who is a man in the secret) assured me that a full information had been sent to Mr. Knight of this proposal, and that he not only had directed Mr. Martel to enter into it, but that he wrote a letter which he had seen, acknowledging that all the steps Mr. Martel had taken in this affair, were with his knowledge and aprobation ; and withall made a shrewd insinuation as if Mr. Knight had it no doubt in view, to put it in Martel's power by this means, to do him more eminent service. I must own I was astonished to hear so particular and so positive a relation to this purpose, after what, I think, you told me on this subject. I answered, that I was very glad to hear of any thing to justify the noble person concerned ; for, whatever bad usage I had received from him, I was one of those who never mixed my own private resentment, with publick concerns ; but I told him that, for my own part, I never would have asked directions from Mr. Knight upon a proposition of such a nature; and that, if I had been near Mr. Knight, and worthy to be honoured so far as to have my opinion asked, I never would have given it for approving a thing of this kind, in any person whatsoever; and my memory furnished me with many examples, how princes had been betrayed by giving leave to hold double correspondencys : but that, if Mr. Knight had approved of it, I was sure he had good reasons for so doing, tho' I could not believe he had done it in the manner this person mentioned ; because to send a letter to be shewn, importing that all the steps Mr. Martel had taken in so delicate an affair, were with his knowledge, when, probably, Mr. Martel would tell but little of them, seems to put a greater confidence in Mr Martel than ought to be placed in any man. However, such an authority says a great deal for Martel, and I should be glad to know what appears to be truth in this matter, upon comparing the letters by which it was

laid before Mr. Knight and those he wrote upon it." It cannot now be ascertained in what manner Hay complied with the request, as his answer to this particular portion of Murray's letter, did not form part of that written in reply; but was contained in "an enclosed note," which has not been perceived.

It may be right to observe, in reference to one passage in the extract from Murray's Letter, that, in no part of James' reply to Mar's communication of February 3, 1721, is there any expression indicative "that all the steps Mar had taken in this affair, were with his knowledge and approbation." The answer is indeed remarkable as exhibiting the kindliness of James' disposition; and perhaps more so, for the blind confidence he still reposed in Mar, whom he assures at the conclusion, "that nothing can alter my sentiments towards you, and that my confidence in your doing your best on all occasions to serve me, is entire."

Besides the letter Murray wrote to Hay on this matter, the subject occupies a large space in one he sent to the Chevalier himself on the 10th of June, 1724; where, speaking with the freedom he had been encouraged to use, he observes, "This subject is equally important and nice. I know how dangerous a thing it is, to endeavour to convince persons in a superior station, of their having made a wrong step; it being certain that a disposition to perceive and acknowledge a fault one has committed, proceeds from a greatness of mind which one rarely meets with. At the same time, my duty and your commands, engadge me to write freely to you on this occasion; because I'm perswaded that if I do not, nobody will; and the knowledge I have of your loving sincerity and hating flattery, encourage me to venture upon it. But if the liberty I take should prove disagreeable to you, I hope you will do me the justice to approve of the motives which made me presume to use it, and pardon me on that account.

" Forgive me therefore, Sir, if I endeavour to shew you, that Martel's receiving a Pension by your consent, and remaining thereafter in the secret of your business, could not but be of the worst consequence to you, in all the different suppositions one could make as to his views in manadging that matter. In general it appears plain, that you can never gain, but may lose, by your Ministers having correspondence with George's; because, tho' there were no proof of the last's* receiving money, yet it is known that the others are always ready to tempt them with it. But when one is sure that money is actually given, it's much more natural to think, that the person who receives it, must deserve it in some shape or other, whatever he may pretend; than to believe it is possible for him to dupe those who give it: for George's Ministers are men of sense, and are not surely to be imposed upon. But supposing that Martel were artful enough to impose upon them, and that he had neither acted nor intended any thing prejudicial to you, in order to merit their favour; yet the appearances on the other side are so strong, that it was obvious, that as soon as his pension came to be known, it would not only destroy all confidence between your friends in England and those you employed at Paris, but also produce the same effect in regard of the French Court; which was so evident a detriment to your service that you will pardon your friends if they are surprized that you could consent to his taking a pension, without removing him that moment from your affairs, and satisfying them that you had done so. These [are] considerations on what might have reasonably occurred on such a proposition's being made, and they have been exactly verified in

* This is evidently a mistake; for his argument is an endeavour to show that although there were no proof that James' Ministers received any money, yet those of K. George were always ready to tempt them with it. Instead of *the last* he therefore must have intended to use *the first*, i. e. James's Ministers.

the present case . . . . . But, as it is now fit to look forward, I am obliged to represent to you, that in my poor oppinion, there is no way to extricate you from the difficultys this affair have drawn upon you, but your having entire confidence in the B[ishop]. He is an honourable man, and certainly will never make a wrong use of it: besides, it is natural to think that he will use freedom with you, in what he writes of your affairs, in proportion to the confidence you shew him, and not otherways; for this reason I wish Mr. Hay had informed him plainly of your having approved of this pension, as it now appears to him. If you feel you have made a wrong step in so doing, I will venture to say that it would be great in you to own it; and it would be of service, because till the B[ishop] knows plainly your own thoughts on these things, it is impossible for him to contrive any measures to put your affairs on a better footing."

James it would seem from what he wrote to Atterbury on the 4th of July 1724, was then convinced that he had been trifled with, and that Mar's apparent zeal and devotion was only to cover other designs. He there observes "that in consequence of the Pension and the Memorial, contrivances were made and advice given me in smaller matters, the consequences of which could not but tend to lessen my credit in England very much; and in short, had I not easily discovered the snare, I should have had but few Protestant Gentlemen in my Domestique Family, whereas I have now almost no others, and am too well pleased with them, and their particular and personal attachment to me, to part with them easily."

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Mar's great anxiety to prevent the Memorial being seen, or even generally known, leads to the supposition that he felt conscious of the odium it would bring upon him; and gives a colour to Hay's suspicion, that it was drawn up more to answer his own purposes with the English Government, than with any expectation that its suggestions would be adopted by the Regent; and that it was sent to Rome only in the expectation that James might be led into an approval of its propositions. If such were the case, he failed most signally in his object, for the Chevalier, as Hay states, did not even acknowledge its receipt; and in his future correspondence with Mar, so far as the memorial is concerned, "he never put pen to paper." He was, indeed, more than usually cautious in this matter, for even when writing to Atterbury on the 4th of July, 1724, the subject appears to be mentioned only incidentally and in reference to some other proceedings of Lord Mar, against which he had, he thought, provided a remedy; and he then observes "since the affair of the Memoire, of which Mr. Hay gave you an account, I have seen plainly what I was to expect from the Duke of Mar. And tho' I was capable of forgetting his way of proceeding towards myself personally, yet his designs against my native country, is what I could never pass over." And this reserve was of some continuance, as we find him writing to the Duke of Wharton, nearly a twelvemonth after the date of this letter to Atterbury, (March 17, 1725) as follows, "I am unwilling to say anything to you in relation to the Duke of Mar, because I am persuaded that you will be satisfied, without my entering into details, that I did not remove him from my confidence, without the strongest reasons; but I think it is fitt you should know in general, that he had

been, unknown to me, negotiating with the late Duke of Orleans, a Scheme utterly destructive to our native country. And I should think I were not a little failing to it and myself, did I ever trust or employ any body who had a share in so base a thing."

Desirous, however, as Lord Mar was, that the Memorial should be kept a profound secret from all, except the two coadjutors, in whom he was obliged to confide for its translation into French and presentation to the Duke of Orleans, he nevertheless thought it advisable to show it to Hay, when he came to Paris on his way to see Atterbury at Brussels; feeling, no doubt, assured, that the Chevalier would not hesitate to impart it to him. This he states in a letter he wrote to the Pretender, on the 6th of March, 1724, where he, at the same time, expresses his regret for so doing, and his fear of the consequences. "Upon what you was pleased to write hither upon Mr. Hay's comeing here, that you trusted him with every thing without reserve, and desired us here to do so too, I being then ignorant of his change of politicks and friendships, communicated to him the Memoriall I sent you by Lord Southesque. I wish heartily now I had not done so, and that he may have made no bad or unfair use of that confidence when he was in Flanders, nor said any thing there, as he did elsewhere, to lessen the good oppinion people had, generally, of the Queen; which, if he did, must equally hurt you and your cause: and it is not without grounds that I am apprehensive of his haveing done so. You are best judge how to prevent any more mischife of that kind in time comeing, by which you and your intrest wou'd suffer most: and I should think it to be very unsafe to let him have a copie of that Memoriall; and even the less he see it, the safer it is."

Notwithstanding this recommendation, which it is surprising Mar should have offered, we find that Hay not

only did see the Memorial frequently, but that he sent to Atterbury, first, an Abstract of it, and subsequently, a Copy of the entire paper, besides furnishing much additional information relative to it in his correspondence. In his letter to Atterbury of the 13th of June, 1724, he says, "By Accounts from Ember [Paris], Cumming [Lord Lansdown] and Norton [General Dillon] continue still to be as much governed by Filmore [Lord Mar] as formerly. Lumnsden's [Hay himself] removal is at present represented as of the greatest moment, and some of Jamieson's [Duke of Ormonde] friends have been sounded, with a view I suppose, of his being a principal advocate in this affair. I am sorry business is so low, and that these people can find out no other way of serving Mercer [the King]; tho' I am glad that Lumnsden serves for an amusement; and I hope Filmore's attention to this particular shall hinder him from thinking of other things that may be more prejudicial. What grieves me is to see Mr. Cumming's honour and virtue so much imposed upon. Sure was he acquainted with a Memorial projected by Filmore, translated by Van [Mr. Ramsay*], who is now here, and presented by Norton to Mr. Jodrel† [the Duke of Orleans] a little before his death, he would allow himself then to think that he has been misled of late; and his being at Ember, and believed by most people, in the confidence of

* And. Mich. Ramsay, usually styled the Chevalier Ramsay. He accompanied Hay from Paris, when the latter returned to Rome after his journey to Brussels to consult with Atterbury about Mar's removal; and was, at the time this was written, employed by James in the superintendence of the education of his son Charles Edward.

† This word in one of the cyphers, is taken to designate Lord Lansdown; but in the one used at this period, between Mr. Hay and the Bishop, it indicates Lord Orrery. It is here, however, evidently taken in mistake for Jordan, which is the cant name for the Regent, Duke of Orleans, in the cypher used for this letter; and to whom only, from the whole tenor of the letter, it can apply.

Mercer's Affairs, in conjunction with the other two [Lord Mar and Dillon] might have brought upon him at least a suspicion of his being concerned in an Affair of which the very thought, I am perswaded, will be horrible to him, upon the account of his own country, whatever reasons the other two might have in advanceing it upon the account of theirs.

"This Memorial was sent by Tindal [Lord Southesk] without his knowing what he carried. I arrived at Ember a few days after Tindal sett out: Filmore very soon show'd me a copy of the Memoire, with a view to know what I thought Mercer's opinion would be upon it. I told Filmore, after I had read it twise over, that I believed Mercer would think very seriously before he made any answer to it, and make it very short, if he made any at all: so indeed it happened, for Mercer never so much as acknowledged the receipt of it; looking upon the project to be so destructive to his interest, that any thing he could say either for or against it, might have been equally prejudicial.

"I own to you, the Memorial struck me so much at first reading, that the utter ruin I saw the common interest must suffer, by its ever being believed that such a Project could come from Mr. Mercer, or any one supposed to be in his confidence, made me take no notice of the advantages proposed by it to one country, or the disadvantages to the other.

"It is sufficient to observe the impracticability of it; which would make one almost imagine that the presenting of it to Jordan [the Duke of Orleans] was not with a view of its being executed, but with the design of its being published and ruining Mercer's interest with his friends in Garroway [England] for ever, and thereby hindering any hopes of Mercer's ever succeeding in his Affairs.

"How can Filmore or any one else imagine that Garroway is to [be] led blindfold into their own ruin, and

be brought to act at the same time a principal part in it? Is it to be imagined that 6000 men can conquer Garroway? This was plainly the case, or your countrymen supposed to be fools. To believe that an English Parliament would ever be brought to confirm such a Treaty, appears, at first sight, most absurd; supposing as the Memorial does, that Mercer was to enter into it, which is not at all the case.

"Enfin, I can't believe that Filmore can imagine those who must have seen this Memorial, so void of common sense, as to think he could impose upon them in it; if so, his only design of presenting it, must have been that it might have been published; that, since he saw he was lost with friends in Garroway, he might have the pretence of suffering for his zeal for his own country. But after what you'll see by the inclosed, I shall trouble you with no more of my reflections. What must Cumming think of his associate? Jamieson was likewise, according to the Project, to have had a share in the execution, and I know it was said, he might be made very useful in it, without his knowing any thing of the matter.

"This is an Affair of the nicest nature, and on which Mercer has never put pen to paper. I can't think it possible that Cumming can know any thing of it from Filmore; sure 'tis impossible to put a gloss upon it, to make it go down with any man. I am perswaded you'll be very nice in the use you make of my information, which is only meant to enable you to retrieve those who may be imposed upon." At the same time that he sent this letter to Atterbury, he also forwarded one to Mr. Murray, stating, "I have writ a pretty long letter to the B[ishop] .. ... it will surprize you pretty much .... I give the B[ishop] an Account of a Memoire, Martel gave the D of O—s [Duke of Orleans] when I was upon the road to Paris last journey from Rome; and of which he sent here a copy by

Lord Southesque. Martel show'd it me at Paris, and when he saw I did not approve it, he turn'd tail. It is worth coming from Bar to Paris to see it. It is indeed a masterpiece, and a tickleish snare; but Peter was too cunning for him, for he never so much as acknowledged the receipt of it. I have recommended to the B[ishop] the greatest caution in the use he makes of my information. The Memoire is a two-edged tool, and cuts on all sides."

The Bishop's answer to Hay's letter, of the 13th, can only be guessed at, from another which Hay wrote to him on the 25th of July, in which he says, " I am not att all surprized att your astonishment on receiveing my letter of the 13th of June; and the cool reception Lord Lansdoun gave to the first accounts you gave him of it [the Memorial] may proceed from his unwillingness to own that he has been imposed upon by some people, as well as the difficulties and inconveniences he may apprehend from his withdrawing that intire confidence he has had of late in D. Mar, with whom, I have reason to believe, he had no reserve, tho' Filmore's [Lord Mar's] confidence in him, I imagine, was not the same. And I can't doubt but B. Rochester will take care to be fully assured that Lord Lansdoun was ignorant of the Memoire till you acquainted him with it. It is certainly very much for the Duke of Mar's interest and Mr. Dillon's, to do all in their power to gain B. Rochester to befriend them. They find they have advanced what they can't be able to support, and what will stick to them as long as they live, and will I am affraid, ingadge D. Mar to act a desperate part:" and again on Aug. 1, he observes, " I am glad you seem to have some hopes of making Lord Lansdoun sensible of the bad usage he has met with; tho' I can't say I perceive any great alteration on him, by a letter which he wrote to the King, the post after you had communicated the Memorial to him, of which he does not

take the least notice, nor, really, mentions any thing particular; but from his stile I am affrayd he is too deeply engaged with the Duke of Mar to quit with him easily." This last letter was succeeded by another, (Aug. 8, 1724) in which he says, "I believe it may be of advantage that it should not be known, who it was that informed you of the affair of the Memorial, because ignorance may make some people jealous of one another: not that I have the least scruple in its being known that it came from me; and was the Memorial made publick, I think it would be no manner of disadvantage to me, that it should be known, that certain spleen has its rise from my differing in opinion in that particular, with the Duke of Mar. The king has been all along apprehensive least this Memorial should be published, and certainly it is better it should never be spoke of; and should the Duke of Mar see the Abstract I sent you, he would know the hand writing, and, in all probability, take that opportunity of making himself angry, and valuing himself upon his love for his country, and apply the occasion of any dryness from hence to that." On the 15th and the 29th of the same month, he again wrote to the Bishop, and both letters contained information relating to the Memorial. In that of the last mentioned date he tells Atterbury "You have got the name of Inquisitor General, and it is said by the Duke of Mar, that you spoke of the heads of the Memorial to several; that he does not doubt but you had your information from me; and that he has reason to believe that these heads, or perhaps the full Paper, only came to your hands lately. He says that you told him, that the Paper and Scheme can be proved to be his, and who translated it into French; and that it was delivered to the Duke of Orleans in September last. He complains of a little unfair usage from you, because of your speaking to Lord Lansdoun and Mr. Dillon, of the accusations you have made against him

on other subjects, which you had drawn from the Papers he show'd you in confidence, since you had spoke to them freely on those subjects, before you spoke your mind to him upon them; tho' he had been several times with you alone, after your perusing his Papers; but he shows an indifferency as to these Articles, and says it would give him very little pain, even were he to answer for them to the Parliament of England upon a Restoration, adding '*I not being simple enough to have show'd him what would militate against myself.*' These are his own words. The Articles are, his proposing an Aliment for the King; the General Indemnity; and his accepting of money from My Lord Stairs when he was at Geneva. He suggests as if the Court of France knowing of the Memorial's being published, and beleiving me to be the Publisher, may be so uneasy at it, as that they will have no more confidence in the King, as long as I am about him. I own I cannot forsee his politick in this threat, except it be, that their intention is to obtain some letter, message, or the like, from some French Minister against me: this being the only method they have left now to push my removal. Should such a thing happen, the King knows better than any body, the proper answer to be made, tho' I am perswaded he will never have occasion to make any on this subject. The rest of the letter is nothing but railling, which is not worth taking notice of: and I shall repeat once more, that I think the Memorial ought not to be published by us. It is a hundred to one if the Duke of Mar does not publish it himself, and then 'tis time to speak plain upon it." These two Letters were followed by another dated Sept. 12, 1724, wherein he states, " I find the Duke of Mar makes a trade of showing the King's letters, and some of mine, to all the world; yet I don't perceive that proceeding has the effect proposed. I should be sorry to think him capable of showing and applying to the Memorial, some letters write above a

year before the Memorial was contrived; tho' I have some reason to believe that this is the case: and you may be assured that the King never acknowledged the receipt of that Paper, nor so much as made the least answer to the hints that were made him in different letters which he received after the Memorial was sent; and for my own part, as I have told you before, the first time I saw it was in the Duke of Mar's own room; and the answer I made to him upon his asking my opinion of it, and what I thought would be the King's mind on't, could no ways show that I approved of it, or that I believed the King would. Some people are of opinion that the Duke of Mar will bring his discontents to a paper war, tho' I own, I differ from them much. Had he any foundation to go upon, one might apprehend it; but as it is, I believe he'll satisfy himself with underhand ways, and when he has done all the mischief he can, which I do not believe will be a great deal, then he'll leave off. And I am perswaded the steps the King has already taken, are sufficient to put a stop to any real harm he can do."

Besides the information furnished by Hay's correspondence, we also find Mr. Murray's opinion of the Memorial recorded in a Letter he wrote to the Pretender, seemingly in compliance with a request forwarded from James himself. It is dated Sept. 11, 1724, and in it he says: "I know Sir, you will expect that I should write to you, pursuant to the orders Your Majesty has formerly given me, my poor oppinion of a scheme which a friend has shew'd me; and of the present state of your affairs here; and I will do it in the manner I know Your Majesty likes best,—that is with freedome and sincerity.

"First as to the Scheme. I do really take it to have been contrived to strike at the root of your cause. Had there been a possibility of executing it, it would effectually have strip'd you of two of your crowns; and in return, it only

afforded you an opportunity to make use of those people on their own terms, as long as they thought fit to obey you, in order to subdue your English subjects, contrary to your repeated engagements. And these extravagant designs were, no doubt, to have been introduced with a new Declaration, containing solemn assurances on your part, that you come to preserve the liberty, property, and priviledges of all your Subjects, and to risk your life on all occasions, in defence of the interest of the English Nation: tho' at the same time, the English Dominions were intended to have been torn to pieces; England itself to be rendered in effect, a province depending on France; and every thing that is dear to Englishmen, to be overturned. It is no new thing in history to see that Princes who have preferred their ambition to their true glory, have found men ready to form projects for augmenting their power at any rate; but this is I believe, the first time, that any man proposed to a prince, who is known to have a clear judgement and a sincere intention to make his people happy, things equally destructive of his interest and theirs: and if this be so, I beg of Your Majesty to observe, how much more astonishing it is, that any one should have been so bold as to propose so extraordinary a project to a foreign Prince, without your approbation, and at the same time in a manner, answer for it as a thing he could easily obtain. Was his project of such a nature that no Englishman, tho' naturalized in France, could be trusted with it? and yet does he dare to own so unjust, so mean, and so despicable an oppinion of the King of England, as to think him the only Englishman who was capable to consent readily to the destruction of his country? Is it possible that he could so long approach Your Majesty without perceiving that your ambition is only to reign absolutely in the hearts of your people, and that you are resolved to perform conscientiously, what you have promised them? And if he

did you justice in this respect, how could he reckon so positively, on your consent to things equally ruinous to the libertys and to the most certain and sollid interests of the English Nation?

"But it is plain, that the Author of this detestable scheme has too much sense, and it is too monstrous and extravagant, for him ever to imagine the execution of it practicable. He lived long enough in England to be able to form a judgment of the genious of the people, and therefore he must know, that by much the greatest part of them, would rather dye than submit to such a yoke; and that therefore, such an undertaking must have ended in the confusion of those who engaged in it. He therefore, in all probability, had another view, which would have been sufficiently answered, if you could have been surprized into an approbation of his scheme. Give me leave to say, Sir, that Your Majesty might as well have signed an abdication to the British crown; and therefore, such a consent once obtained, might have been sold at any rate, and when published, would have effectually extinguished your pretentions. I observe, the author of the Project endeavours to cover his black designs under a feigned zeal for the interest of his own country. I love my country as much as he dos. I may, without vanity, venture to say,—more; because I have never been instrumental in selling it.* I should therefore be fond to obtain any real advantadge for it consistent with Your Majesty's honnour and interest, and in a just and reasonable way; but I dont find that the scheme proposes anything in favour of the Scots nation, further than what has been already promised by Your Majesty's former Declarations; for I declare that I look upon a French Army and a French Protection, as things to be equally abhorred by all who desire to live dutifully

* This is probably an allusion to the part Mar took in the Union of the two kingdoms, which he promoted with all his influence.

under your Government, and have a regard for the peace of their country.

"This being the state of the case, I recollect with pleasure, some expressions in a letter Your Majesty did me the honnour to write me, many months ago; by which I find you received this matter with an indignation worthy of a Prince who, I hope, will always shew himself to be the father of his country: But at the same time, I hope you will permit me to say, that this affair is of such a nature, that it is not the author only, who deserves your resentment; whoever approved of it, is equally guilty; and even silence, when your all was at stake, is criminal to the last degree.

"I cannot reflect without the utmost concern, that Your Majesty has had for some years past, not only your enimies to strugle with, but that those whom you believed to be your friends, and whom you honnoured so far as to employ as your Councillers, have, under pretence of giving you advice, laid snares for you every day. I hope none of them have prevailed; but it is fit to advertise Your Majesty, that Martel [Lord Mar] pretends to have under your hand, not only a seperate consent to what was intended in favour of Ireland by this Memorial, but also that you approved of the Memorial itself. I know nobody to whom he has shewn any writing of your's in favour of Ireland; and to prove the last, he has only produced a few lines from Your Majesty dated in December last, importing that you had red a part of a paper he had sent, and that you liked it so far; which indeed proves nothing at all."

Murray had, it appears, previously written to Hay on this subject, for the latter in a reply, dated September 26th, says, "You judge, as every honest man must do of the Scheme. It is indeed, a most extraordinary one. As to Ireland I know of no engagements the King entered into, or Papers that he signed relating to that country; at

least I don't now remember any, and I am almost sure there was none. Some Papers were signed and sent to Martel by way of Instructions to the Commissioner, when a Parliament should be assembled in Scotland; and I am apprehensive that Martel applys some letters write at that time, to the Scheme, and may perhaps change dates; for those Papers were sent about a year before the Scheme was made, or at least appeared: And I am told it is insinuated as if Peter [the King] had in some measure, consented to the Scheme; whereas I can assure you, he never so much as acknowledged the receipt of it, and was too clear-sighted not to find out the trap from the first moment. I'll say nothing of these Papers relating to Scotland, but allow Martel to be the first publisher of them; and if he does discover them, it will be then pretty plain that his late conduct does not tend to the good of his own country, which is the only thing he has left now to say for himself; tho' I am afrayd even that appears pretty plain already."

It was not long, however, before Mar became aware of the light in which his Scheme was viewed by the Pretender, and the feelings it gave rise to. The letter he wrote to James on the 19th of July, 1724, is taken up, for the most part, in vindicating himself from what he considers the unfair charges made against him by Hay and Atterbury in regard to it; and he then proceeds to observe, "Here am I now, Sir, in the oddest situation that, I belive, ever man was (the Earle of Straford's in the time of King Charles 1st. not even comeing up to it), attainted, forfeted, my esteat confiscated and sold, and I banished my country for standing up and fighting for my lawfull King, at the head of a considerable body of his loiall subjects: and, should it please God that ever he come to be restored, to be accused of high treason for endeavouring to serve him in his banishment, and to get the power-

full kingdome of France to assist him, which had for several years past supported and keept on the throne, his Antagonist; and for endeavouring to secure the King when restored, and his posterity after him, in the possession of three warlike nations, and makeing them great and potent kings, not to be again shaken and turnd off by factious capricious subjects; but all this without hurting or doing injustice to any of the three kingdoms. The last part occasioned by the unfair dealing of that same King's favourit* and minister, to his friend and brother, as well, as I suppose, to the king his master: togither with another,† who if he had had more the spirit of peace and union, might have done perhaps better service to the Prince and cause for which he suffers,—which is all I shall say now of him."

There seems to have been a suspicion in Atterbury's mind, that Father Inese, mentioned in the Note on page 24, as being put aside from the Chevalier's service, was in some way implicated in the drawing up of the Memorial. We are necessarily brought to this conclusion from a passage in one of Hay's letters to the Bishop, (July 25, 1724), which is seemingly an answer to one he had received from him, and in which we find the following observation. "Dr. Inness is certainly a man of sence, and I believe a better head than any of those concerned in the Memoire.—Allowing that he might have a share in the projecting part, yet I can't think he would ever have consented to the putting that Memoire into the Duke of Orleans' hands. D. Mar may have made use of his notions nevertheless; Doctor Inness perhaps, made the wheels, but I reckon D. Mar put them together. A watchmaker by placing the wheels wrong, can easily make a watch go backwards."

* Mr. Hay, whose sister, a daughter of Lord Kinnoul, was Lord Mar's first wife.

† Atterbury.

In addition to the Abstract or general view of the Memorial, forwarded by Hay to the Bishop, in his letter of the 13th of June, it was afterwards thought desirable to send an exact Copy of the document itself to him. We arrive at this fact from a passage in one of Hay's letters to Atterbury, bearing date August 15, 1724, were he states—"Lord Lansdown has mentioned nothing of the Scheme; and in a letter the King received from him, the post after you had first communicated it to him, he was as full of his hero, the Duke of Mar, as ever. You have here an exact copy of that pernicious paper: The King is perswaded you will make the best use of it, but still thinks that it ought not to be published upon any account whatsoever; and if the author should become the publisher—then indeed, it is necessary that all the circumstances should be made known."

The Memorial itself, an exact copy of which is here stated to have been sent to Atterbury, has not been discovered among the Documents in the collection; but a copy, in Edgar's handwriting, of the "Abstract" enclosed in Hay's letter to the Bishop, of the 13th of June, 1724, exists; and is here given:—

"Abstract of a Memoire sent to Mercer [the King] from Paris, the 29th September, 1723, and delivered to Jordan [the Duke of Orleans] much about the same time.

"The first part is endeavouring to prove, that it is the intrest of France to restore the King and remove the Elector of Hannover out of England, where several arguments are made use of to prove the preference that the Elector of Hannover must always give to his friendship with the Emperor in case of a rupture betwixt France and Germany, by which England must be drawn over to the German side as matters now stand, which would not be the case if the King was upon the throne.

"Next is endeavored to be proved, that it must be the King's intrest always to seek and maintain a solid friendship with France, and adds, that France may perhaps object that the Parliament of England may oblige the King against his inclination and intrest to declare against France, as has been already seen in former times; that it is the King's intrest to maintain a solid union with France, as it is lykeways his, and that of his heirs, to putt himself in such a situation that he should never be constraind to yeild to the capricious humours which the Parliament of England might be lyable to for disturbing that union.

"It represents that that Parliament has diminished the authority and prerogatives of the Crown; has encroached upon the rights and privileges of Scotland and Ireland; has taken away the Parliament from the one, incorporating it with theirs; and keeps that of the other entirely depending upon them, and will govern them absolutely by their own counsels; which the two nations groan very much under, and only seek an opportunity [of] shaking off the yoke.

"Further, that the people of England is the enemy and rival of the French grandeur as much as the Princes of Germany; and has for many ages, by almost uninterrupted wars, nursed up a continual hatred against France.

"These, (says the Memorial) are the causes of the evil; and it appears immediately, that the most proper method to put a remedy to it, is to entertain an army always in England, than which nothing would be more dangerous for the family of Stewart, nor more inconsistent with the English genius.

"And adds, that the only efficacious and wholesom remedy, is to restore the Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland to their ancient liberty and independence upon the kingdom and Parliament of England; by this means, these two nations would be equal to England in force, and it would be their intrest to support their lawful King against the changeable

humor of the English, and his to support them reciprocally. By this means the Kings of England would be more powerful, more free, and more masters to follow their own intrest, inclinations, and at the same time more obliged than ever, to preserve an inviolable union with France. It is France alone that can by its force and situation, maintain a Catholick King upon the throne of England; and a King who, (independent of his religion) must always be exposed to the parties, cabals, and disorders, which time out of mind, have often happened in that kingdom, and which seemd to have their rise as in ancient Rome, from the form of its government; where, under the pretence of supporting the liberty of the people, they attack often the authority of their King.

"By this means Scotland and Ireland would of course attatch themselves to the King of France, as to the guardian of their liberty; and thereby those kingdoms would be of more use to him, than if one of them actually belonged to him. That a King of England with three Parliaments so independent, two of which would always have a particular intrest in keeping themselves in good terms with France, would be a very useful allyance to the French nation, which would be for ever freed from the jealousies and fears it has always entertained of its ancient enemies and rivals — the English.

"Lastly, by this means all the disadvantageous Treaties that France has made with England since the Revolution, might be annulled; and France might enjoy anew all the privileges which she enjoyed under the reign of James II.

"To bring this change about, it is proposed, that there should be a league, offensive and defensive, betwixt the King of France, and King James. By this league it should be stipulated. 1^mo. That the King of France should use his utmost endeavors to settle the King upon the throne of his ancestors, in furnishing him with troops, arms, ships, and

in general with every thing that shall be necessary for a descent. That the King shall be obliged to pay and entertain these troops at his expence eight days after their landing in Great Britain, and that France shall be repayd of the expences of said expedition after the King's restoration. 2do. That the King shall be obliged by the said treaty, to restore the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland to their ancient liberty and independency upon the kingdom, the parliament, and counsels of England [and] to be governd in time coming, by laws made by their own parliaments; and that the chief of these laws shall be concerted and fixed before the French troops leave Great Britain. 3ly. That the King shall be obliged to fournish to the King of France, troops to the number of 5,000 Scots, and as many Irish, and even the double if required; that the King of France, shall be obliged to entertain the said troops; that the officers shall receive their commissions from him, but shall be recommended by the King of England and his lawful heirs; and that the said troops shall have leave to return into Great Brittain when the King shall demand them; the time and manner to be agreed upon with the King of France, by the articles of treaty. 4o. That the said treaty, and all that belongs to it, shall be ratified and confirmd in the three Parliaments of England, Scotland and Ireland, before the French troops leave the kingdom.

"The memorial represents the impossibility of executing the articles of this treaty, if it is deferrd till the King be on his throne, that then the King would be in the hands of the English, who would oppose this project with vigour; and durst not then consent to it. But all would be safely brought about in the manner proposed.

"The memorial then continues to shew the reasons why other princes ought not to oppose this project; and consequently to engage the Duke of Orleans to enter into it. It is represented that a great fleet is not necessary for mak-

ing a descent in England. That small boats, and fishermen, would be sufficient for transporting in one night, what troops, arms, &c. may be wanting; so that the English fleet could not hinder their landing, even tho' their design was known.

"It is represented, that for the execution of this project, it would be sufficient to send 5 or 6,000 men into England with 20,000 arms; 2,000 men into Scotland, with 15,000 arms; and 4,000 men into Ireland, with 15,000 arms; which would be but a small force for France to send; and that even if they found that too much, less might do, tho' the number proposed would make the success of the affair, certain.

"Further, the memoire advances, that it would be no difficult matter to engage the King to treat this affair not only as to what is here proposed, but as to what may be proposed by France; that every thing may be done with such secrecy and so suddenly, that the King may be restored in two months; and a very little after, the articles relating to the independency of Scotland and Ireland, may be ratified in the parliaments of the three kingdoms.

"What follows of the memorial is only arguments to engage the Duke of Orleans to enter into the project."

PAGE 103.

"I had the honor to be presented t'other day, by the King, to our new landlord [Pope Benedict XIII.] He is a mighty devout man, and with all that, I hope he won't be any anyways uneasy with those of my profession. He made me a great many compliments, and assured me of the particular esteem he had for those who had acted the part I had done, in my master's service. He is entirely ignorant of the affairs of the world, and in all appearance

will leave his managements with Princes, to his ministers, and take himself wholly up with reforming abuses of the church. He seems to take the King's interest to heart, and told him he would write strong Apostolick Letters to the King of France, old and young King of Spain, Duke of Bourbon, and to the Emperor, in his favour; which I am of opinion may do good, and can do little harm at any rate. One advantage must follow from it—that the Pope will by this step, find himself engaged to be assisting when any one of those named above shall think fit to act in the King's favor.

"A very well-wisher of the King's objected against this step of the Pope's, saying, it would do no essential service at present, and might, by making a noise, engage the King's enemies to take new measures to his disadvantage, and might do the King harm with his friends in England. As to the first objection, I think it is of no great moment, and the engagement mentioned above far overbalances it; and I believe, as to the second, friends in England won't be scrupulous by whom the King is assisted, providing he can gain his process. By what one can perceive by the Pope's character, he'll mind little the treatment he receives, and no threats will hinder him from doing what he thinks is his duty. With these principles he may be brought to be pretty troublesome to those who oppose the King's intrest; and it would be a pitty not to encourage him, especially at the beginning. The King told him, that he did not expect these letters could have any immediate effect, tho' he hoped they would in time: the Pope answered that it was his duty to do what he intended, which was enough to engage him not to neglect it. I should be glad of your opinion on this, and what you think may be the best way of proceeding with the Pope for the time to come." In a subsequent letter (Aug. 8, 1724), Hay informs the Bishop that the Pope "has already write the letters

in question, but I hope they won't become publick; and if they do, they can do but little harm, since they can only be constructed as a consequence of the Pope's zeal for his religion, and as a recommendation which he thought himself obliged to make upon his coming to the Pontificate; and rather a matter of form than any thing else."

Letter xxiv. Page 112.

Hay, on the 28th of August, answered the letter that Atterbury addressed to him on the 7th, and conveyed to him the intelligence that "the King is resolved to putt a stop to the Duke of Mar's underhand deallings; and his conduct these two months past I am perswaded, without any more, will have done it effectually. Friends in England will be fully apprized of the opinion the King has of the Duke of Mar; and the Scheme* you have in your hands, putts it always in your power to strike the nail to the head; but in that case Dillon is involved over head and ears: therefore, I think, the King has reason first to write to Dillon in plain terms about the Duke of Mar, forbidding his having any further correspondence with him; and after that, a few more being acquainted with this step, will do the work. The King already acquainted M. Le Duc [de Bourbon] with his opinion of Lord Mar, by a confident of his, who was here some time after the Pope was chose, and who wee hear has been arrived att Paris, ten days before last letters from thence were write. The King will write to you more fully himself on this matter, next post, in answer to your letter of the 7th."

On the following day (August 29th), having just received the packet conveyed by M'Mahon, he writes a postscript

* That is, the Memorial, an account of which is given in the Appendix to Letter XXII.

to this letter, giving the Bishop some additional information regarding the Memorial; and then stating that "Mr. Dillon writes several letters of different dates, but much in a different strain from former ones. They are all in manner, in answer to the King's to him — a great deal of submission, and promises of strict complyance with his orders; — mentions your having questioned him about the Memorial, but says very little upon it; and all I can observe from his letters is, that he would gladly get clear out of this scrape, but does not know the way. I observe you have concealed, that you know that he delivered the Memoire; and it is certainly better that you should continue to do so. What I would propose is, that means should be taken to insinuate a sort of an agreement, betwixt the Duke of Mar and you, that no more noise should be made about past transactions; that the Duke of Mar should be no more trusted in the King's affairs; and that the mistakes of others should be forgot, and only serve for a memorandum for time to come. In this manner the good of the King's service, I think, would be provided for; you will act a generous part towards those who are the occasion of your sufferings; and publick vindications will be prevented, which rarely contribute to the common good. I can't think but the Duke of Mar would be glad to get off upon these terms; and I am sure Mr. Dillon and Lord Lansdown ought to wish that this could be brought about. For my own part, I declare, I can easily forgive but not forget; and as I have nothing in view but the good of the King's service, I shall always submit to every thing that may tend to it; and tho' I have been barbarously used of late by the Duke of Mar, I am ready to be silent: yet, if he takes another turn, and begins to vindicate himself in a public manner at other peoples' expence, I shall take care that it shan't ly at my door, and show that tho' I am good natured, yet I can do myself justice."

Hay we have seen, states in his letter of the 28th, that "the King will write more fully on this matter, next post;" and we find that, on the 3rd of September, James wrote to the Bishop, stating that, "I delayed writing to you myself, till I could be able to tell you that all necessary steps were actually taken in relation to the Duke of Mar. I have write plainly to the Duke of Ormonde, that the Duke of Mar was no more in my confidence; that none should have any further share in it, whom I should find influenced by him; and that I intended soon to declare Mr. Hay, — Secretary. I have write to the same purpose to Lord Orrery, for his information, and that of such with whom he has free communication on my affairs; for I have no cypher with any body else at present in England. I mentioned to him in general the Duke of Mar's private negociations with the late Duke of Orleans, unknown to me; and I plainly see, that that matter will soon be publick. However, I am still of opinion, that those who wish me well, should not be the publishers of it; and when it comes to be known, they can best judge what is fit to be said, for I find it has been said already, that those negociations were in part, authorized by me; tho' I am sure the Triumvirate at Paris cannot so much as prove that I ever saw the Memorial, for I never mentioned that matter in writing to any but yourself, and now to Lord Orrery, and shall leave it to you to write of it to the Duke of Ormonde, in the time and manner which you may find expedient. My letter to Mr. Dillon that Mr. Hay sent you, will alone effectually dissipate all the cabal at Paris. If he disobeys, it sufficiently authorizes any further steps I may find necessary to take, and if he submits, Lord Mar can do no further hurt. I heartily wish the last case may happen, for if he lets himself be directed by you in his negociations with the French court, I really don't see a fitter person to manage them."

PAGE 112.

The following information respecting "the wretched scheme" is extracted from Hay's letter to Atterbury, dated Aug. 1, 1724. "I find by a letter from Mr. Murray that you desire to be informed, who started the project that was carrying on about the time of your landing; and when it was first begun and by whom; and on what foundation it was built and carried on; as also the reasons for its being dropt. These are questions, I can assure you, you must get solved by the Triumvirate, who were the persons that pressed the King for many months, to declare that he would make an attempt at any rate; representing to him, how much his honour and reputation was at stake, and how much his character would suffer, if he did not endeavour to relieve his subjects who were imprisoned and suffering for him at that time; for they never gave any other reason for their pushing an immediate attempt, but because the behaviour of the King's friends in England (which I suppose was when the Tories, on several occasions about that time, left the house) was the last sound of the trumpet to call the King to their assistance. It was always represented that nothing could be done without money, and a supposition that money was to be got from England. These are all the particulars I can tell you of that affair, only that Sir Hary Goring seemed to found great hopes from the Waltham Blacks.*

* Sir Henry Goring's own account of these fellows is sufficient to prove that they were at the best, but smugglers, and frequently something much worse. He speaks of them in a letter addressed to James (May 6, 1723,) where after mentioning the arrest and examination of Mr. Philip Caryll, who had betrayed certain secrets entrusted to him by Goring, concerning an intended rising in favour of the Pretender, he observes, "As I was unfortunate in my choice of a friend, so I was fortunate in not trusting him with a great deal more than I did; for I had settled an affair with five gentlemen of that countrey

" Mr. Dillon towards the latter end of Aprile, 1723, begins his instances. In the beginning of May, Sir Hary Goring writes him ane incourageing letter which he sends to the King, recommending it to his serious consideration. The 17th of May, the Duke of Mar writes a long letter to the King, representing the necessity of the King's making an attempt, for his own honour, &c.; says that money is necessary, but shows no way of getting it; proposes the attempt should be made without foreign force, and says it ought to be made as it can. Mr. Dillon [on the] 24th of May, writes to the same purpose; preaches up firmness, and represents that the qualities of a great Prince is firmness in adversity and mildness in prosperity, &c. Lord Lansdown [on the] 31st of May, says that nothing but money is wanting for an immediate attempt. They write to the same purpose for several posts. On the 25th and

[Hampshire] who were each of them to raise a regiment of dragoons, well mounted and well arm'd, which I knew they coud easily do, for the men had horses and armes of their own, and were, to say the truth, most of them the persons who some time since rob'd the late Bishop of Winchester's Parke, and have increas'd in their number ever since. They now go by the name of the Waltham Blacks, tho' few of them live there, which is a most loyal little town. Your father call'd it his little Green Town; for as he was passing thro' it to Winchester or Portsmouth, they got a great number of green bowes and dress'd the town up, that there was hardly a house to be seen. I once saw two hundred and upwards of these Blacks in a body, within half a mile of my own house: they had been running of Brandy; there was twenty-four custom-house officers following them, who they abus'd heartyly and carried of their cargoe. I am told there is not less than a thousand of them, and indeed I believe it: they have now taken loyalty into their heads, and will, I hope, prove very usefull. This Mr. Caryll was the person who I intended to send to give these gentlemen before mentioned, their orders when to rise, and to tell them the place of Randevous, but I thought it was not necessary to acquaint him with it till nearer the time, so I did not tell him of it, not out of any disstrust neither. I yet cannot but thinke they have us'd some torture to this man, to get from him what they have; whether tis by fire, or water, or chains, tis pretty indifferent, and when a man is in a Messenger's hands, tis very easy to punish privately, and that poor Plunket found, tho' indeed with more firmness."

28th of June, the Duke of Mar writes to desire the King would resolve on an attempt, and write to the Duke of Ormonde, that he is resolved to go to Scotland, if he can't go to England. July 8th, 9th, and 12th, the Triumvirate sends by an express, schemes relating to Scotland and Ireland, saying that they refer to the Duke of Ormonde for a scheme for England; and all three agree that the King ought to go to Scotland to pursue the Duke of Mar's scheme in that country, if he can't go to England.

"July 4th, the King answers the Duke of Mar's letter of the 17th of May, — approves of the contents, providing all friends on this side the sea act their part heartily, supposing always money to be had from England; — refers to his friends at Paris to determine if an attempt be practicable; — that he is always ready himself, and will go into any project that can be thought reasonable; as I suppose you will have seen by the letters that have been show'd you.

"The King's letters to the Duke of Ormonde at that time, are to the same purpose. I need not trouble you with any more on this subject. The part the King was to act, and the decision he was to give to the pressing instances of friends at Paris, was pretty difficult. It was pretty plain that a bad use was to be made of the King's backwardness, had he diswaded them from this project. It was as plain that the want of money was an evident obstacle to their making any motion at that time, so that the King did not risque much in leaving the decision of that affair entirely to them, since, did friends in England send money, that would have been an evident proof of their approving the thing; and with their approbation, any scheme became reasonable: and it is not surprizing that the King's natural fondness, and the great desire he had to relieve those who were then suffering for their love of their country, should make the opinion of friends at

Paris have a greater weight with him, than perhaps it ought to have had.

" After what I have said you will see, as far as I can demonstrate, how all this affair was begun and carried on; and I can give you no other account how it was dropt, further than that it dropt of itself: and I believe you can judge of that better than I, since that part happened after you was in Flanders; and your not entering into this affair was given as a reason why nothing could be done. I look upon the conclusion of all this misterious business to be, that the Duke of Mar found it necessary to bestir himself, and to show his warm zeal for the King's service at that time, on purpose to cover other matters."

Page 114.

The following is M'Pherson's letter to Earl Marischall, detailing the persecutions of himself and his clan by the Duke of Gordon and Glenbucket.

" My Lord,

" The honour your Lordship did us in your expressions of friendship to me and the family of Cluny when you past this country, gives me now the freedom of troubleing yow in the unlucky scituation of our affairs with regard to the Duke of Gordon, for which we can assign no other reason but the judgement his Lorship is pleased to make of our hearts being much more yours than his. Most of the lands we possess in Badenoch are either as fewers, woodsellers, or kindly tenents to the Duke of Gordon. This puts us under such services and subjection to his courts, as furnishes him with continued colourable pretexts of vexing and reduceing us by perpetuall law suits; but haveing generally the just side of the cause, we found

means to support ourselves against him by law till now: For haveing taken it into his head to root us intearly out of our own country, he has fewed most of his lands in Badenoch to Glenbuckett, with the heretable baillery and forrestry of that country, for the half of its value, or I may rather say a third, meerly out of design to take it out of the hands of the' M'Phersons, who have always possest these offices till of late. Glenbucket being a person capable of executing any thing however desperate, that can any way suit his revenge and the present turn of his thought, in order to begin the work of extirpating us, has turned the tenents of six rooms, out of a possession they have hade as old as any we have there. The poor desperat men, after useing all their art and interest by offering as much as any would give of rent for the lands, finding themselves doom'd to irrecoverable ruin, in a most barbarous manner attempted to satisfy their revenge by murdering him as the invidious author or rather instrument of their misery. They very luckily missed their aim by the favour of a buff belt he had about him, and is now recovered of what wounds he gott. This unlucky accident brought the Duke of Gordon into our country with a body of a thousand men, foot and horse: which though to no purpose, they not finding it their interest to enter into blood, made us however understand that he was to extirpate us and the whole name of M'Pherson out of the country, if in any manner, in his power, by a pretence of the gentrys being aiders, advisers, or abetters, in the barbarous attempt on Glenbuckett, his instigater and directer in every thing. Though this is absolutely false, it gives him however a fair handle to goe openly on in his designs against us. We therefore beg your Lordship would take the trouble of writeing to your friend to write to the Duke; since his goeing on any further may have bad consequences, as well with regard to himself as to the Duke and us. Though

your Lordship's procureing us this letter can add nothing to the respect and readyness we are allways in to serve you, yet it will be ever remembered by each individuall of the clan in the most gratefull manner, as a signall mark of your friendship to them, and particularly to

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithfull
Humble and obedient servants,
LA. M'PHERSON."

Cluny, May 10th, 1724.

The above letter was sent to Earl Marischall at Paris, who forwarded it to the Chevalier, accompanied by one from himself, in which he stated that, " the enclosed, as it contains an affaire that I think regards your interest, I take the liberty to forward. That is my cheif concern in those people, as well as in every thing else. If they are turn'd out of that part of the countrey they have so long been in possession of, from four or five hundred men of one name, united under one head, always ready to serve you in a body together, — they must be scattered as vagabonds. They have many relations amongst the most considerable of the gentlemen in the Highlands (particularly Lochyeal, who delivered me the enclosed) who are in great concern for them, and for the hurt it may doe your Majesty's interest, by drawing into quarrels your faithfull subjects, and thereby exposing them as an easy prey to the Government. I leave this place about two weeks hence, and Lochyeal hopes you will let him know what you are pleased to doe in this affaire; and if you judge it proper to grant such a letter as they desire in theirs, with another to Glenbucket, when leaving those [who] committed that barbarous crime, to whatever justice can be obtain'd to bring them to punishment, you doe but mark that you will take it as a proof of his loyalty to let those

not involved in the guilt, live quietly, they will be bound to serve you by stronger tyes (if it were possible) than what they already have.

I humbly ask pardon for this liberty I take, which I hope the motive, my zeal for your service, will make excusable, you shall ever find all my designs directed to that end, and that I am

Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutifull
and most obedient subject and servant,

MARISCHALL.

Paris, Aug. 7, 1724.

In compliance with the request thus conveyed to him, James wrote the following letter to Lochyel; enclosing at the same time, others for him to have delivered to the Duke of Gordon and Glenbucket.

[Copy.]

JAMES TO LOCHYEL.

Rome, August 27th, 1724.

On what Earl Marischal lately represented to me, I here send you enclossed two letters for the Duke of Gordon and Glenbucket, which will I hope have the desired effect in favour of a name so sincerely attatched to me, and so justly considered by me; and it will be very necessary that these letters be sent with great caution and safety. I hear your son is lately come over to you, and soon to return to his own country, where I am sure he will do me and the cause all the service he can: pray tell him so, and that he has but to follow yours and his uncle Allan's example, for to be esteemed by all honest men, and to deserve a share of that sincere regard I have for both. My faithful Scotish subjects will I hope have yet ere long, many occasions of

showing their affections for me; while mine towards them is born with me and shall ever appear on all occasions, and particularly towards my brave and loyal Highlanders, amongst whom I shall ever have for you a most particular consideration.

Subscribed,

JAMES R.

I thought it more safe not to sign the inclosed letters, which are in my own hand, and sent open to you, so you will easily see which is for the Duke of Gordon, and which for Glenbucket.

[Copy.]

JAMES TO THE DUKE OF GORDON.

August 27th, 1724.

It is not without much concern that I have been informed of the barbarous attempt made against honest Glenbucket, and of the consequences it may be attended with. I am far from blaming you for any steps you may have taken, which were authorized by the law of the land; and I think it is but just that those who were guilty of so base and cruel an action, should be brought to condign punishment: but I should be sorry that the innocent should suffer with the guilty, or that for the crime of a few wicked men, the whole name of Macpherson should be exposed to ruin. You know how loyally they are inclined, and I am perswaded that beside the justice of the matter, you would be sorry to deprive me and the good cause of the help of so many brave men, at a time when honest hearts and hands were never so much wanted, and that our enemies endeavours to disunite the loyal party, showes us yet more the necessity of a strick union and harmony amongst our-

selves. I am perswaded you will take what I have here said as kindly as I mean it, and that your prudence will easily find the means of reconciling justice and good policy on this occasion. I hope you will yet have many others of giving me new proofs of your zeal and affection for my person and cause, and you may be assured of finding in me a grateful master and true friend.

[Copy.]

JAMES TO GLENBUCKET.

August 27th, 1724.

It is with no small satisfaction I have been informed of your recovery, after the concern I was under on account of the cruel attempt made against you. Those who were guilty of it do not certainly deserve any mercy; but it would not be just that the innocent should be involved in the punishment. I have writ on this head to your chief friend, and I know you too well to doubt of your encouraging him in all those peaceable measures, which may contribut to the good of the cause. You have already distinguished yourself in it, and I hope you will have yet occasions of doing so again, and of deserving even an encrease of that particular regard and esteem I have for you, and you so much deserve.

LETTER XXV. PAGE 116.

Dillon, after stating, as mentioned in the note on page 116, that he had imparted every thing to Atterbury respecting the then state of the negociations with the Duke of Bourbon, proceeds to inform James, "This gentleman seems to lay no great stress on Dampiers's [the Duke of

Bourbon] generall assurances of friendship and promises of service whenever the affairs of this kingdom are settled to satisfaction, and that the King of France's interest permitts undertaking something effectuall in Peter's [the King's] favour. I find 3607 [the Bishop of Rochester] is not far from believing those general advances to be only an amusement in order to compass other purposes, and what fortifys him in this opinion is Dorvall's [the Duke of Bourbon] continuing still to insist on Lavallin's [the Czar] adjusting all differences with England, which if done, would certainly prove of great prejudice to Farmer's [the King's] interest for many apparent reasons unnecessary to repeat. I made use of several arguments to prove, as it is really my opinion, that 3031 [the Duke of Bourbon] is not insincere in his professions of friendship towards 3167 [the King];— that he is a true well wisher, and designs most cordially to do all in his power to restore him, when France and Spain are sufficiently prepared for such an enterprize. I could not disagree but the time of execution seemed very uncertain, and perhaps remote, except some event happened to accelerate matters, and induce the powers in question to undertake speedily. It is certain the present sistem is to preserve peace at any rate; and the actuall friendly negociations with the court of England, in opposition to the Emperor, and Dorvall's insisting affirmatively on Lavallin's making up all diferences with that Government, is a stedfast proof of it. Rig [the Bishop of Rochester] spoke to me as if Farmer had some hopes of procuring assistance from another Power, in case the Duke of Bourbon made unreasonable delays for coming into solide measures. He allso told me it was his opinion the King should insinuate this to Dorvall in a becoming manner, as proper means to induce the other to act with more speed and resolution; and that he advised Peter to do it. As I could not think of any Power willing and able to serve

the King effectually without the assistance or at least, the connivance of France, I reasoned on the matter, and started several evident difficulties in procuring any Power of the kind that could prove of material use; to which the Bishop of Rochester replyed, in the supposition he does not think unlikely to happen, that 3067 [the Czar] should be displeased and discontented with the Duke of Bourbon's continuing still to insist on adjusting with Ranford [the Elector of Hanover], nothwithstanding the formal refusal he allready gave; might not Lavallin, said he, who is a powerfull Prince, full of vigour and resentment, take the party of uniting with the Emperor in opposition to France, which present circumstances may probably render very acceptable to both? In this event they might restore Farmer independant of France and Spain, and the two last would be no gainers by the bargain. The Bishop told me likewise that he advised Freeman [the King] to write to Doringuy [the Duke of Bourbon] in order to bring him to some point in case of Ranford's death, which most people do conclude must soon happen from his ill habit of body. In this event that the Duke of Bourbon should be solicited to promise a certain number of troops previously prepared in conjunction with Lavallin, who could be easily engaged to do the same, and that on notice, those two bodys should be ready to make an attempt in different parts of Britain.

" In my humble opinion with regard to relative circumstances, Farmer can assign good reasons for making this last proposal to the Duke of Bourbon, and none can give a more proper and becoming turn to such an insinuation than the King himself. Who knows but it may at least produce the effect of bringing the other to some point, however uncertain or remote the execution may prove? Lavallin's sincere desire and present judicious dispositions to serve Peter effectually, is no doubtfull case, which is well known

to the Duke of Bourbon. Justice and the glory of relieving an oppressed Prince are strong motives for so great and generous a monarch to encourage such undertakings, and it is not improbable but personal animosity against the Duke of Hanover for injuries received, might have some share in it. In the event of the latter's death, the animosity may cease, and occurrences and reasons of State do often occasion a change in the most favourable dispositions. If 3272 [the Prince of Hanover]* happens to be placed on the throne without struggle or opposition, and has leisure to settle a ministry and foreign alliances, may it not prove a difficult task to dispossess him? and the more, that it is little doubted but he will encourage the chiefs of the Tory party, by giving them employments both civil and military; and perhaps such offers may not be rejected. I am in no doubt but Peter will find several plausible reasons for making this last proposal, and do heartily wish Dampiere may be induced to give such a promise, either in writing or by the canal of his minister in Rome, as could in some measure be depended upon: and tho' I fear much he will continue the usual answer, yet I think it behoves the King to make the request.

"As to what Rig advised in case Dorvall should make unreasonable delays for coming into solide measures, &c.— that point seems to me very tender and extremely nice. I am perswaded the King is too well aware of their maxims and way of thinking here, to venture any insinuation that could either disoblige or give the least umbrage, especially in the present circumstances of affairs. I think it may be taken for granted that the Czar will scarcely venture to undertake restoring the King, except in conjunction with France; and it is very plain, the mutual interest of both those powers doth require so strict an union, as not to be

* Son of K. George I.

easily seperated. That is Prince Kurakin's opinion, who is no bad judge; and I believe he is pretty well instructed of his master's intentions in this respect."

The confidence, which in compliance with his instructions, Dillon was thus forced to repose in Atterbury, very soon gave rise, apparently from the more frequent intercourse he was necessarily obliged to have with him, to certain misgivings, as to the possibility of continuing for any length of time to act cordially with him; and entertaining, as seems to have been the case, a very proper feeling of the disservice which any open rupture between them would be to James' interest, he, on the same day in which he wrote the above letter, sent also to the Chevalier, the following —

Monday, 2 *Oct.* 1724.

" In consequence of what I writt by last post relating to Rig [the Bishop of Rochester], give me leave, after having leisurely considered the whole matter, to observe that in my humble opinion, it is a question to be weighed, whether Dutton's [Dillon's] acting in conjunction with that gentleman may prove conducive to Peter's [the King's] service or not. Farmer [the King] is no stranger to the frequent disputes and disagreements that happened between Rig and men of distinction, age, and experience, of his own country and religion, who acted jointly with him. They complan'd of his incompatible humour and violent suspicious temper. Since, therefore, persons bred and born in the same climat, and of the same profession, could not agree with Rig, can it be well expected Dutton will meet with better success? who had different education and is of another religion; for which it is necessary Rig should have due regard, especially whilst Farmer is depending on the assistance of Catholick powers. If it be taken for granted that Martell [the Duke of Mar] is accused of schemes and counsells tending to popery, slavery, and arbitrary

power, &c., is it not naturall to presume his suspicions may extend further in relation to Dutton? and if this way of reasoning should reach Dampiere [the Duke of Bourbon], the Bishop of Frégus and the ministry here, as it scarcely can miss doing, according [to] the different hands it passt through, may it not be apprehended that Dutton intimating his orders to act in concert with Rig, may run the risk of being excluded himself from usuall confidence?

I thought it incumbent duty to lay these considerations before Farmer, and do allso think they deserve attention. I hope he will easily believe they mean nothing else but the good of his service, without the least prevention against any person whatsoever. When Farmer examins this representation and sends me his orders upon it, they shall be punctually obeyed.

CHIVERS.

The extract from the first of the above letters proves that Dillon was aware of the Duke of Bourbon's earnest endeavours to induce the Czar to adjust his differences with England; and yet, strange as it may seem, he appears from the language he uses in this and other places, to have retained the opinion that the Duke was sincere in his professions regarding James. Neither Hay nor Atterbury, however, had the same faith in the Duke; the latter has expressed this clearly enough in the letter to which this portion of the Appendix belongs, and Hay in his communication to the Bishop, dated September 5, 1724, after stating what is mentioned in the note on page 116, observes, "Mons. Le Duc amuses Mr. Dillon with telling him that nothing can be undertaken for the King till present differences betwixt the Powers he is now engaged with be adjousted: tho' it is very certain that he must meet with more difficulties in espousing the King's interest after the conclusion of that Treaty, since the chief articles in it tend

to support the Elector of Hannover upon the throne; and that was one of the chief views Cardinal De Bois, who laid the foundation of it, had in contriving the Quadruple Alliance. Whereas were Mons. Le Duc to make a new plan, which would equally be for his interest and honour, and entirely overlook Cardinal De Bois' scheme, he certainly would rather second the Czar than obstruct the great inclination he shows to serve the King. I dont find Mr. Dillon has any notion of the strick friendship you observe to be established betwixt England, France, and Spain, and satisfies himself with Mons. Le Duc's polite answers, hoping that a little time will determine him in the King's favour: at least if Mr. Dillon knows more, he does not communicate it; for the truth is the King's informations of the Court of France are but very lame at present. What you observe, in all probability will happen — that when the Elector of Hannover finds himself secured in Bremen and Verdun, and that the Ostend Company is demolished, he'll then endeavour to attatch himself to France as the power most capable of doing him harm as King of England, and able to support him in his interest in Germany. Should this union become fixd, the Emperor and the Czar joind together, may give the others a good deal of uneasyness providing the Turk ly still."

The remainder of Hay's letter is taken up with observations and suggestions relative to a future attempt in favour of James' restoration.

PAGE 118.

Hay's plan for James' sojourn at Avignon was communicated to Atterbury in a letter dated October 10, 1724; but James himself had previously mentioned the subject in one he wrote to Dillon on the 18th of the preceding

month. In that communication, however, before entering upon the question of his change of residence, he touches upon the negociations between the Czar and the Court of France, and, indirectly, again expresses his doubts as to the sincerity of the Duke of Bourbon. "I plainly see," he observes, "of how great a discouragement it must prove to the Czar, should Mons. Le Duc make any new agreement with England, before he has adjousted matters with him, and therefor nothing certainly ought to be neglected by us to prevent the one and heasten the other. They both know my readyness and willingness to give them the strongest assurances of future gratitude on whatever they may do in my favour; and if Mons. Le Duc really means me well, which seems to be still your opinion, methinks the last words of my last letter to Mad. La Duchesse* should determine him to enter into particulars with me; on which I cannot begin myself, being so much in the dark as I am, as to his present views, whether in relation to the interest of France or his own personally. It would therefore be of great advantage if you could obtain good information on these heads; for with those lights I could act on sure grounds, and Mons. Le Duc does not, I hope, doubt of my willingness to enter into any proposal he may make me, which is not against the interest of my three kingdoms."

* Dated September 9, 1724, which he concludes thus: "Excusé je vous prie Madame la longeur de cette lettre. L'amitié que vous et Monsieur Le Duc veullent bien avoir pour moi, m'a engagé à vous l'escrire, et les verités qu'elle contient auront auprès de luy une nouvelle force quand elles luy seront représentées par votre entremize. Je m'attend avec confiance à cette nouvelle marque de votre affection; et j'ose vous assurer sans le moindre compliment, que je ne suis pas moins vif sur vos intérêts que sur les miens, et que je ne désire rien tant que de me voir par votre moyen, en état de vous donner les preuves les plus authentiques de la reconnoissance et de l'affection que je conserveray à jamais pour votre personne et votre famille, éstant prest de vous en donner des à présent, les plus fortes assurances dans la manière que vous prescrives."

He then passes on to the subject of his residence at Avignon, by observing that "It might not perhaps be amiss to make an attempt at this time towards my returning to Avignon: not that I can expect that Mons. Le Duc should publickly approve of my going thither, but if, on your discoursing with him on the matter, you could obtain his private promise that he would not molest me were I once there, I could easily contrive to be in that territory before he could know of my journey time enough to be able to stop my passage throw' the French dominions. The advantages of my being there preferable to Rome are manifest, and much might be said to Mons. Le Duc to convince him that it is even the interest of France I should be there. I would have you discourse on this particular with the Bishop of Rochester, and after that, mention the matter or not to Mons. Le Duc according as you two find it expedient, considering the disposition of affairs and particularly the French court, at the time you will receive this letter."

This letter is mentioned in Hay's communication to Atterbury of the 10th of October, wherein he proposes a Scheme for James' removal from Rome, and in which he observes "In consequence of what the King mentioned in his letter to Mr. Dillon of the 18th of September, which was ordered to be communicated to you, should Mons. Le Duc be found anyways plyable and willing to connive at the King's coming to Avignon, it may be brought about in the following manner.

"That the Pope should enter a complaint of the hardship done him in sending the King out of his territories, and to desire reparation upon that score; representing to the King of France and his ministers, the civil usage the King met with in France in the late King's time, and hoping that the King would rather follow the example of his great grandfather, than that of the Duke of Orleans,

whose being Regent only, and, at the beginning of his regency, was obliged to more concessions than can either be becoming or convenient for a King upon his throne to grant. I make no doubt of this being obtained easily from the Pope, providing you can give some small hopes of Mons. Le Duc's complyance; and I shall expect your opinion whether the Pope's application may not be of use, tho' Mons. Le Duc should appear backward: and I should even think that were the King to come privately to Avignon, and that his journey was seconded by the Pope's officers, that Mons. Le Duc would hardly send him away. The advantages that must follow upon the King's coming so near, are so great, that nothing ought to be omitted that can forward it; and could you bring this affair to bear, it would put an end to all the uneasynesses the King must always be tormented with, even from his friends, whilst he is at so great a distance."

In a subsequent letter (October 31, 1724), after quoting for Atterbury's information, a portion of James' communication to Dillon as given above, Hay proceeds to observe, "By the King's letter it is plain that His Majesty did not expect any thing but a verbal promise from Mons. Le Duc; and as it may very well happen that Mons. Le Duc may be induced to agree to such a thing privately, when it may be noways convenient for him to sign his consent, I think it would be of great use to the King to get it at any rate, and if once he had a footing there, I believe few ministers would not chase him out of it as the Duke of Orleans did: but as for the connivance which you propose to be asked not for an indeffinite time, when the King obtains leave once to go there, he is master to make use of that leave when he pleases, always untill such a leave be recalled, and not obliged to make use of it immediately. Therefore, I think, it would be needless to say anything to Mons. Le Duc, that could import whether the King was

to make use or not of that leave upon his getting it; and I do think the difficulty Mr. Dillon makes in speaking to Mons. Le Duc is not upon strong grounds, whatever your reasons may be for not pushing him to it, and indeed that of Mons. Le Duc's regarding little what comes from Mr. Dillon is reason enough. The King writes this post to Mons. Le Duc, and designs to mention the affair of Avignon amongst other things; and I hope, if Mons. Le Duc wont grant matters of greater consequence, he will shun refusing every thing, by granting this."

From a passage in another of Hay's letters to Atterbury (January 2, 1725), it appears that the Duke of Bourbon, contrary to his usual practice, had in this instance sent a written reply to the Chevalier, for he states that "The King orders me to send a copy of Mons. Le Duc's answer to his letters of the 16th and 31st October, which answer came, as you'll see by Cardinal Gualterio's canal." It is to be regretted that neither this reply nor the two letters to which it was an answer, have been found; however from the tenor of Hay's letter there can be no doubt but that they all had reference to some proposed assistance or connivance on the part of the Duke of Bourbon, in favour of James, in the event of the death of King George I. and the proposed residence of the Chevalier at Avignon — the former of which the Duke in his reply left unnoticed; and gave to the latter a positive refusal.

LETTER XXVI. PAGE 127.

A good deal of correspondence took place between James and his agents, respecting the various Papers in the possession of Lord Mar and General Dillon; and in reference to the latter's dilatoriness in delivering up to Mr. Inese those in his custody, and in accounting for cer-

tain large sums of money that had passed through his hands since the Chevalier's departure from Avignon.

The subject appears to have been first mentioned by Hay in a letter he wrote on the 20th of June, 1724, to Atterbury; and it enters into portions of the correspondence from that time till its final adjustment as mentioned in O'Brien's letter, dated October 1, 1725. Hay in his letter above referred to, informs the Bishop that "The King has lykeways by this post ordered certain blank papers that were sent to Mr. Dillon and Lord Mar, to be made use of in case of an immediate attempt, should be sealed up and depositated in the Scots' College, where the King has already some papers in keeping, there being now no prospect of any immediate use for them; and Lord Mar's and Mr. Dillon's place of residence being uncertain and inconstant, the King does not think it fit that papers of that kind should be anyways exposed. In the humour a certain person is in, he may take exception at this, and construct it a want of trust, tho' I don't see any reason for his so doing."

Dillon's backwardness both in respect to depositing the papers as directed, and in clearing up and passing his money accounts, are particularly noticed in a letter that Murray addressed to Hay on the 22nd. of January, 1725, where he states that "Dutton [Dillon] has at last, after being sollicited a fortnight, sent an answer that he has no such Paper as the letter enquired after. He has taken no notice of the last orders sent him in relation to the Bishop, nor does the Bishop expect to hear from him on these heads for some months; nor can he decline saying that Dillon's sullen reserve and dilatory behaviour on these occasions, seem not to him very consistent with those high professions of duty and submission he makes to Mercer [the King], and sure he is that they are greatly prejudicial to the service." He wishes Dillon may be quicker in laying

his accounts before Mercer, but believes he will not; and that nothing is so terrible to him as the entering into the clearing of that article; but hopes that Mercer, nevertheless, will insist upon dispatch, and to have all things stated clearly; after which he may show his goodness to him at the foot of the account, in what manner he pleases: but there is no room even for that, till he is apprised of the true state of it. He desires me to add that to his certain knoledge, when he was on the other side of the water, nothing so much tyed up the hands of Mercer's friends when money was demanded from them, as a full perswasion that it would be misemployed on this side, to purposes for which it was not intended; wherein he fears, it will appear that they judged very truly. He has no notion of Dillon's being himself dipt in those money matters any otherways than by his unparaleld negligence and want of attention; but as to the story of Mrs. Cummings [Lady Lansdown], the Bishop is perfectly sure of it, having had it from two persons to whom she shewed the Collonel's letter, and one of them was Dutton himself. Now that letter, he says, could not be sent with any other design, than that of being shewed, because the Collonel while he was here, was every day six or eight hours with the Lady, and therefore would have no need to make such proposals in writing;*

* This must certainly have reference to some offer made by Colonel Churchill while at Paris in 1722, to Lord Lansdown through the medium of his Lady. The extreme intimacy between his Lordship and the Colonel at that period, was noticed by Atterbury in the letter he addressed to the Chevalier on the 31st of July, 1724; and we find by one that Hay wrote to the Bishop (Jan. 2, 1725), that Lord Lansdown had certainly received from Dillon some of James' money. "The offer made to My Lady Lansdown by Churchill," he observes, "is entirely new here, and the money Mr. Dillon gave My Lord was given, as Mr. Dillon represented, to save him from a publick affront. I was always suspicious that there was some secret history in My Lord Lansdown's conduct, which attatched him so close to the Duke of Mar, and now I begin to believe that I was in the right. The Duke of Mar has contrived very well to get Lord Lansdown as much in his power, as he

God knows whether, after making the use of them mentioned, she accepted what was offered, but all the appearance since look very strong that way, and particularly the unaccountable attachment her husband has shewed and still shews to Filmore [Lord Mar]. The Bishop will still endeavour, if it be possible, to break that knot, and provided he has health, and the steps taken from your side continue to be such as he thinks they should be, dos not yet dispair of doing it."

On the 6th of February, 1725, Hay addressed a letter to Mr. Inese, giving an account of Dillon's behaviour, and written seemingly, with a view to induce him to use his influence with Dillon to comply with James' wishes, "Tho' I am not very fond," he says, "of writing on certain subjects, and especially on what concerns those who may construct my meddling to proceed from officiousness or perhaps worse, yet I am resolved to break throw my common rule of acting and to represent to you something relating to one you have a just friendship for, and who I can with truth say, I always esteemed and whose character I respected, tho' perhaps he himself may not do me justice on that article. If Mr. Dillon has communicated to you the letters the King wrote to him for this twelve month past, and particularly those of the first six months of that year, you can't but have perceived the great kindness, esteem, and confidence, which the King show'd he had in him, and would certainly have continued had Mr. Dillon shown the King that he would have conformd himself and acted in his affairs in the manner His Majesty proposed. I cannot say that Mr. Dillon made such returns as the King might have expected; far be it from me from

was in My Lords. If Dillon has not dipt in the dish too, which I can't believe, sure he must be ashamed of himself, and cry peccavi at last: and 'tis unpardonable in him not to have acquainted the King with the true motive of giving that money."

accusing any man of a fault, much more one of his honor and integrity, but I think I do him a service, when I impart to a friend of his, who is incapable of making a bad use of what I say, some reasons that can't but give the King a just uneasyness in proportion to the value he has for Mr. Dillon. You may remember that about seven or eight months ago, the King acquainted you that the Duke of Mar and Mr. Dillon were to deposite with you, each of them a box with papers which they had in their hands, and which could be of no immediate use, but that it was of consequence they should be safely lodged. The Duke of Mar, after some time, delivered such a box to you, of which you acknowledged the receipt; but to this day Mr. Dillon has never performed his part. The papers are mostly blank commissions, &c., and Mr. Dillon's delaying this matter seems surprizing to the King, who expects a nice performance of what he directs. The King has lykeways lately sent other orders to Mr. Dillon, and amongst other things to desire him that he would send him the account of some money that passed throw his hands. The many changes there was of the French money at the time that some payments was made, makes it impossible for accompts to be cleared with merchands, who are pressing for it, till Mr. Dillon's account come; and I think if you have an opportunity, it would be a service done to him, if you could prevail upon him not to delay this particular, as he has done that of lodging the papers . . . . . I desire not to be named in whatever you may think fit to say to Mr. Dillon on this subject. I have nothing in view in this but his honor and the good of the King's service; and he may think what he pleases, but I'll yield to none in the friendship I have for him. Tho' I am far from approving every part of his conduct, yet I do not blame him for it; and I wish from my heart he was convinced that the King will be served in the manner he himself directs, and

wont be drawn in to second the views of others, where he thinks they don't agree entirely with the good of the cause. People may differ in their opinion on particulars and characters, but the King himself who hears all, must be the properest judge, and wee ought all to submit to his decision: and I can assure you there is none at Paris who knows the true state of his affairs, nor the sentiments of his friends either in publick or private cases, so well as he does himself."

This was followed on the 27th of the same month, by a letter, from James himself to Mr. Inese, in which he observes, "I own Dillon's behaviour surprizes me much more than Martel's, because the last may have motives for his, which I cannot think the other hath. My behaviour towards Dillon has been very singular, and demanded other returns: yet I will not yet judge ill of him, and I shall even be sorry if he force me to do so; but I confess I cannot nor will not bear being trifled with, for 'tis an exact complyance to my orders, and not fine words and expressions which I expect from my servants and subjects; and if the good of my service should oblige me at last to alter my conduct towards him, it will be his own fault, for my inclination does not lead me to it. Enfin my future behaviour towards him depends on himself."

On the 11th of April James addressed another letter to Mr. Inese, in which he observes, "It would be natural to believe that before you receive this, Mr. Dillon should have complyed with my reiterated orders in depositating in your hands certain papers, blank commissions, &c., therefore this is to direct you to acquaint the Bishop of Rochester of it, if he has done so; if otherways, you will inform that Bishop of what you may have learnt of Mr. Dillon's disposition towards complying or not complying with said orders; for it is necessary that such measures be taken as may render Mr. Dillon's disobedience of as little

prejudice to my service as can be." On the same day he also forwarded letters to Murray and Inese jointly, to Dillon himself and to Atterbury. That to the two first, contained instructions for them to open (in case Dillon had complied with James' orders) any box or parcel of papers that he may have deposited in the custody of Mr. Inese, and to transmit a complete list of the several documents to James: — that to Dillon, related to some money transactions between the Chevalier and the King of Sweden, and concerning which Dillon had delivered to Atterbury three acquittances, signed by Baron Görtz: — the letter to the Bishop was expressive of James' determination "to come to the bottom of the affair of the Papers," and, besides those above mentioned as being written to Murray, Inese, and Dillon, enclosed one also for the Duke of Bourbon, in case Atterbury should find it necessary to claim the interference of the French Government. An extract from the letter to Atterbury is given in a note to Letter XXXI.

There exists an order from James, directed "For Mr. Lewis Inese, and the Principal of the Scots' College at Paris," dated from Rome, July 18, 1725, and desiring them on its receipt, to deliver to Mr. James Murray a small bundle of papers which the Duke of Mar and Lieutenant-General Dillon had on the 24th of September, 1724, placed in Mr. Inese's hands. There is also another paper entirely in James' own hand writing, and endorsed by himself, "Order to D. O'Brian in relation to Papers remaining in D. of Mar's or Mr. Dillon's hands. Aug. 29, 1725," which states that, "Whereas notwithstanding my former orders to the Duke of Mar and Mr. Dillon in relation to several Papers of consequence which I had deposited in their hands at different times to be made use off according to the future circumstances of affairs, there still remains many papers of that kind which they have as yet never delivered up, nor given any account how they are

disposed of; this is to impower and direct you to order and require in my name of the said Duke of Mar and Mr. Dillon, to deliver up as formerly directed, the remainder of such papers as they may have still in their custody, and to give you an account in what manner they may have disposed of any of them."

In consequence of these instructions O'Brien appears to have written both to Lord Mar and to Dillon on the 22nd of September 1725, and to the latter he at the same time forwarded a Statement or Memorial which he had received from Atterbury, respecting these papers, to each particular article of which he requested an answer. Dillon replied to this two days afterwards, and then assured him that he had "already deposited in the Scots' Colledge, according to the King's directions, all the powers and materiall papers that were in his hands concerning His Majesty's affairs;" adding, "I shall however make a further research into all my papers, and if I find any of those mentioned in the Memoriall you sent me or otherwise relating to the King's service, I'll deposite them as I have done the former," and then expresses his belief that all the powers and papers of value that were in his custody would be found in the deposite already made in the Scots' College — although he could not be positive as to this point till after verification. Mar's answer is dated October 3, and in it he states that he had "about a twelvemonth ago given up all the papers belonging to His Majesty," with the exception of two that he had lately found, and which he had sent to Mr. Dillon to be given to Mr. Inese.

Page 130.

Mr. Murray's letter to the Chevalier, from which the following passage relative to the renewed attempt of Lord

Bolingbroke and the Duke of Berwick to enter into negociation with James is extracted, is dated from Paris, April 16th, 1725.

" It is come to my knowledge (by a person who has not as yet made confidence of it to the Bishop, and requested that I would not) that in October last, Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Berwick made a proposal to the Duke of Ormonde which was sent to him, written by them. It was desiring to know whether he would treat with them on your score. They mentioned that he was the only person they would employ to settle matters between you and them, and that if he would hear them on that subject, they would send to him a man of purpose to open to him their minds in regard of that, and how they proposed to serve you; of which he could be at full liberty to judge. The man employed by them enquired anxiously after the answer to this letter, which did not come in ten days so soon as it might have done, and at last when it did come, it was avoiding this matter and letting it fall as gently as he could. They required at the time this message was sent, that the Bishop should know nothing of it, but said that if the thing went on and was approved by the Duke of Ormonde, they would have no objection to seeing him, and in particular that they had not any to any person now in your service. This I thought fit to inform you of; but with submission, I dont think that in the present conjuncture, it is proper for you to do any thing upon it; for as things now stand, I cannot think you have reason to court them, tho' I must own that I always will be of oppinion that not only they but every body should be heard; after which there is time to consider, and opportunity to judge how far they ought to be trusted, or if they ought to be trusted at all. I beg of you, Sir, not to write me any thing on this subject, for tho' I gave my promise not to mention it to the Bishop, perhaps he would not be pleased to find that I concealed it from him."

In one of Mr. Murray's prior letters to Hay (dated Feb. 5, 1725) was found the following detached Memorandum in Edgar's hand-writing. It seems to have been intended as a message either from James or Hay himself to Atterbury, and from which it appears that the information contained in Murray's letter was imparted to the writer by Robert Leslie. It runs as follows:

"Mr. Murray will inform you of what Robin Lesley has told him of Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Berwick. I have not a full account of that matter, nor consequently can pass any clear judgement upon it; but sure I am they were once dabbling with me at a distance; and as sure that without good proofs and sincerity I will trust neither of them."

PAGE 132.

Atterbury in a letter he wrote to the Pretender on the 12th of November, 1724, (which has not been found), must have made some observation on the inconvenience or impolicy of employing Mr. Murray as an agent to transact his affairs with the French ministry, as may be gathered from the extract of James' letter in the note on page 131. It was to remedy this inconvenience as much as possible that the Chevalier was desirous of introducing Daniel O'Brien in that capacity, to the Duke of Bourbon; and for this purpose he wrote the following letter.

[Copie.]

JAMES TO THE DUKE OF BOURBON.

De Rome, ce 15 *Decembre,* 1724.

"Comme l'Évêque de Rochester est très souvent incommodé et hors d'état de sortir, je vous prie, Monsieur, de vouloir bien permettre dans ce cas, qu'il se sert de M.

Daniel O'Brian pour représenter ou à vous même ou à qui il vous plaira d'ordonner, ce qu'il aura à vous communiquer pour mon service. Je croy que M. O'Brian vous est personnellement connü, et je luy dois cette justice que de vous dire qu'il est très sage et secret, et qu'il ne sera jamais capable d'abuser de vos bontés ou de votre confiance. Continuez moy, je vous prie Monsieur, votre amitié et soyez bien persuadé de la sincérité de la mienne."

The above letter was sent by James to Atterbury in the same packet with those he had written to M. de Torcy and Sir Patrick Lawless, copies of which are here given:

[Copie.]

JAMES TO M. DE TORCY.

De Rome ce 15 *Dec.* 1724.

J'ay eu tant de preuves de votre amitié pour moy, que je m'assure avec certitude de votre promptitude à m'en donner de nouvelles si vous en avez l'occasion; et je souhaitte de tout mon cœur, qu'elle arrive autant par amitié pour vous que par intérêt propre: mais dans ce cas, il seroit nécessaire que vous fussiez instruit de bien de chose, la face des affaires par rapport à mes intérêts, ayant bien changée depuis ma sorte [sortie] de France.

Si vous passé l'hyver à Paris, vous y trouverez l'Évêque de Rochester, dont le nom et le mérite vous seront assez connue, mais vous devez scavoir de plus qu'il est dans toute ma confiance, et plus capable que qui ce soit, de vous donner des lumières étendues et sures par rapport à l'Angleterre. Je vous serai infiniment obligé si vous pouvez le voir quelque fois, non seulement pour l'écouter, mais pour l'instruire encore sur la bonne manière de me servir dans un pays où il est tout nouveau, et où il ne paroit guèrre de disposition, au moins présente, de me favorizer

dans des matières essentiels. Je dois adjouter icy que hors de l'Évêque de Rochester, il n'y a personne en France dans la confiance de mes affaires. Je vous prie de luy en parler sans réserve, et d'attribuir cette lettre à ma confiance dans la constance de votre amitié pour moy, que je desire ardemment de reconnoître en toute ce que sera en mon pouvoir.

[Copy.]

JAMES TO SIR PATRICK LAWLESS.

Rome, December 16th, 1724.

I have received yours of the 14th November, and am very sensible of the zeal and affection you express in it for me. I was always perswaded you would take what I writ to you as kindly as I meand it, and I doubt not of your making the right use of the lights which have been given you. You cannot have a better opinion than I have of Mr. Dillon's loyalty and zeal for my service, which is not in the least altered by my having found it expedient to withdraw, for the present, my former confidence in him. I thought it convenient to acquaint you with this step, and I must desire you at the same time, to discourse with the Bishop of Rochester with entire freedom on what may concern my affairs: a mutual confidence betwixt you cannot but very much tend to my service, and may often be of advantage to you for the better serving the King of Spain. The Bishop is more able than any body in France, to give you useful lights in relation to England, and incapable of abusing of those he may receive from you. He deserves and possesses my confidence, and that alone will, I am sure, be sufficient to induce you to act towards him as I propose and desire both for the King of Spain's intrest and mine. I wish with all my heart for both our sakes, that the pre-

sent politiques may not last long, and I am perswaded you will lose no opportunity of forwarding my intrest as much as in you lyes, and you may be assured of my constant regard and friendship for you."

The above letter (intended to serve as an introduction between Atterbury and Sir Patrick Lawless) is that which called forth the Bishop's opinion of the latter, in the one to which this portion of the Appendix belongs. It was certainly received by Sir Patrick, for on the 27th of February he addressed the letter to James, from which the following extract is taken and in which, without indeed positively naming Atterbury, he pointedly alludes to the recommendations of the Chevalier's own letter. To remove however any doubt as to the person intended, James' own testimony can be produced to prove that none other than Atterbury is meant, for in a letter he wrote to Murray on the 14th of March, he mentions the receipt of this very communication, and quotes that particular part of it in which Lawless states that the Court of France will not have any confidence in that person; thereby meaning, as James himself avers, the Bishop of Rochester. After acknowledging the receipt of two letters from James, one of which is that above printed, dated December 16, 1724, Sir Patrick proceeds as follows,—" My attachment and duty to your Majesty, are, and ever shall be as unalterable and inviolable, as your will shall be a law to me; butt I beg leave to represent to you that in my present circumstances here, and those of the person who employs me, itt would be very inconvenient for both, that I should have any interviews with the person you recommend to me to see and confide in, since wee are both surrounded with spyes; and that itts impossible for me to see him eyther att his house, or mine, without allarming the English Minister here, and giveing some grounds to the complaints that he, and his prede-

cessors, made of me to the person I serve, and to their constant sollicitations of getting me remouv'd. That person is on the other hand so much, and so continually indispos'd, that he is not in a condition to stir abroad, or to be seen any where butt att his own lodgings. I know certainly likewise by my spies on Mr. Walpole, that he is perfectly well inform'd, by his near that person, of all that passes in his house, so that there can be no safety for me to see him there. I am besides undoubtedly apriz'd, that this Court has not nor will not have any confidence in that person, nor enter into any secret measures, or dispositions with him relating to your afairs, nor to any others. In these circumstances, and considering the present unhappy state of affairs in general, and of politicks, I doe not foresee that that person, who is wholely unacquainted here, and equally ignorant of the language and customes of this country, can be of any great use to your service in itt. However since your Majesty orders me to confide in him, I shall obey you willingly, whenever I have any thing essential to communicate to him that may tend to your service or interest, and without exposing my self, till then, to no purpose. We are both noted persons, and I a very great eyesore in this Court to the present Government of England, and the more so, because I am equally well with this, and with that I serve."

PAGE 133.

[Copie.]

JAMES TO THE CURÉ DE ST. SULPICE À PARIS.

De Rome ce 31 *Decembre*, 1724.

Quoi qu'il y a long temps que je connois combien vous étez de mes amis, cependant ce que l'Évêque de Rochester me mande de votre zèle et de votre affection pour moy,

m'oblige à ne pas différer à vous témoigner moy même combien je m'en trouve pénétré. Votre caractère et votre piété donneront un nouveau poid à tout ce que vous pourrez dans la suite représenter en faveur d'une cause aussi juste que la mienne, et j'ose dire, aussi étroitement uni avec les véritables intérêts de la France: et je me flatte que vous ne perdrez pas les occasions qui se présenteront de l'appuyer auprès de ceux qui peuvent le favorizer. L'Évêque de Rochester qui est l'unique personne à présent en France qui a mon entire confiance, et dont le mérite vous est bien connue, vous pourra donner d'utiles lumières sur mes affaires, et je vous prie d'agir de concert avec luy dans toutes les démarches que vous ferez pour me servir. Soyez, je vous prie, bien persuadé de mon extrême gratitude, et que la juste et parfaitte estime que j'ay de votre personne, est accompagnée aussi de la plus sincere amitié de ma part.

Signé JACQUES R.

PAGE 134.

The following is Lord Lansdown's letter to the Chevalier mentioned in the note on page 134.

SIR, *Jan.* 15, 1724-25.

If there is any one sin more abominable than another, the murder of an honest man's reputation is most certainly that crime.

He who takes my life, takes no more from me than what I am sure, some time or other, to lose; and the injury reaches no farther than myself.

Who wounds my good name, stabs the immortall part; for Fame is eternal, and the ignominy descends to posterity.

As the virtue of our ancestors transmits luster to their descendants, their infamy fixes reproach.

Let then the DEFAMER, whoever he is, look to his conscience in time; for if there is a place in hell, hotter than the rest, he may be sure it will be his.

It has been alwayes a maxim with me, that Reputation is the basis and foundation of every thing: to despise fame, we must begin by contemning virtue.

You know, Sir, how delicate I have been alwayes upon this article: the world is govern'd by opinion; and CHARACTER is all in all.

I have sacrificed my youth, my fortune, my family, pleasure, ambition, liberty, everything that in the eye of the world seems desireable, to preserve a good-name; that I might be alwayes in a condition better to serve you.

What then can these people mean who are endeavouring to render me useless to you, by attempting to rob me of that which must be always my surest foundation?

It is the common trick and policy of knaves, when they have any dark design in hand, to begin by rendering honest men suspected, that they may engross their master to themselves, and have the feild open to act their treachery without contradiction or controule.

I pray God to preserve you, Sir, for ever from the snares of such men.

The incoherent ridiculous storyes of little emissaryes employed to whisper about scandall and detraction, is worth no bodyes minding: such wretches are like flyes, vexatious and troublesome, but below indignation.

But when at the Hotel de Bouillon, where all France assembles, I hear myself pronounced a betrayer by a lady so nearly allyed to you, that her informations must be taken for granted, I must be insensible not to take fire; nor can I otherwise conclude but that some cheif agent of the first rate, authorises the slander, for it is not to be supposed the inferiour tale-bearers come there.

God knows, Sir, I have had no occasion to betray you;

if I had consider'd my fortune I needed but to have forsaken you.

You may easily, Sir, judge what the consequences of such practises may be, if you should not be pleased in your own wisdom, to give a timely check to them: you best know, Sir, where to apply the remedy: otherwise it may happen that our swords, which should be drawn but in your quarrell, may come to be sheathed in one another's bosoms.

That honour which I have received from my Ancestors, and preserved for my Posterity, I must defend and vindicate at all hazards.

It is my duty, Sir, I know, in the first place to throw myself at your feet for justice: I make no doubt of receiving it: your last gracious letter of the 12th of December, which I have now the honour to acknowledge, has assured me of the continuance of your good opinion. My study shall be alwayes to deserve it, nor shall you ever be deceived in me.

I remain, with the utmost duty and submission,
Sir,
Your most faythfull,
Most humble and
Most obedient servant,

The above letter is entirely in Lord Lansdown's handwriting, and is endorsed by James himself, "L^{d} Lansdoun, Jan. 15, 1725."

LETTER XXVII. PAGE 141.

With the letter to the Bishop of Fréjus, James also sent one to Murray (who was to deliver it), dated March

28th, 1725. He there says, "Your long letter of the 5th was most agreeable, in as much as it convinces me I have a sincere friend in the Bishop of Fréjus, and that he will be willing to hear what farther may be convenient to offer to him from time to time. You will see by the enclosed coppy of his late letter to me, that he confirms the same things to me, and I hope my answer, which is here open for you to carry as soon as may be, may make a right impression. You will accompany it with such reflections as may be proper; and enlarge on the precarious condition of publick credit in England which ought to be a strong motive for them to enter into measures in my favour."

Murray took the letter to the Bishop of Fréjus, with whom he had a long interview; an account of which he gives in the following letter to his brother-in-law Mr. Hay, who had now been constituted Secretary of State by James, and created Earl of Inverness.

My Lord, *Paris, April* 23, 1725.

In answer to your letters of the 4th, which inclosed the one you formerly mentioned from Mercer [the King] to Dagget [the Bishop of Fréjus], I have the honour to acquaint you that I went Saturday last to Versailles, and had audience of him at ten at night. I delivered to him the letter; after reading of which, he said something obliging upon what Mercer wrote in relation to you and me; adding, that his sentiments were noble and just. He then looked towards the Postscript, and said he percieved Mercer did not think Van [Mr. Ramsay] fit for the employment for which he had formerly been intended; but found he was superficial. He said nothing to shew he did not agree in that opinion of him, and then left this matter, saying it was of small moment. He told me that as to Mercer's

Affairs in general, he was sorry to say that since his last letters to Mercer, and since he discoursed these matters with me, he found no alteration.

I had a mind to know more clearly how far the present breach between France and Spain could possibly have a good effect for us at this court; and therefore I beged his leave to lay before him some thoughts of my own on the present state of affairs, in so far as Mercer's interest might be concerned. He bid me speak, and said he would hear me with pleasure. I said that as I had always been of oppinion that a perfect good understanding between the crowns of France and Spain, was necessary in order to use effectual endeavours for Mercer's Restoration, I was afflicted to see that in spite of the near relation between the two Kings and an entire conformity of interest, a rupture seemed unavoidable, which might be followed by very bad consequences as to both. He answered that he thought as I did, that it was a most unlucky thing, and that it was by no means favorable for Mercer. I represented to him that France would lose by the prohibition of commerce, an advantage they made of above thirty millions a year, and that if joined to this, they were obliged to be at the expence of an army for some years on the frontier, I look'd upon it to be a ruinous thing for the kingdom in their present circumstances. He answered that he was very much of that opinion, and that he had spoke it plainly; but said I, since the King of Spain has no real interest to pursue by this war, but on the contrary, and since these measures are solely grounded on resentment and passion, I should hope that if he were applyed to in a manner he liked, there might be room for an accomodation; the rather that most certainly the step made here in favour of the King's succession was just in itself. He said that the King of Spain could only reasonably complain of the manner in which it was done

et qu'il falloit espérer qu'il se laisseroit calmer. I said, I thought the most probable way to calm his passion, was to propose things in favour of which he might be pleased to sacrifise it. He bid me explain myself. I then told him that what I would take the liberty to mention to him, I did without any authority, and that it was purely an idea of my own which I submitted to him; and then I asked him if he did not believe our King could be of use in that matter. He answered immediately that he really believed he might, because he knew the great regard and friendship the King of Spain had for him. I said that something agreeable might be proposed to the Queen of Spain in relation to the marriage of her favourite daughter, and that the Spanish nation might find their account also as to Port Mahon and Gibraltar, and in many other respects if our King was re-established. I gave him as full an account as I could of the present state of Garroway [England] and of the Funds, in order to shew how easie the execution of such a project might be; and added that if France and Spain could be brought to enter into it, this conjuncture seemed particularly favourable, because after a treaty signed, the appearances of war might be carryed on of both sides for two months, and that the Spaniards might make preparations at St. Andero, &c., as if they meant a descent in Britany, and that the French might march troops as if they took the alarm, and embark them at Brest and St. Malos, both which might go for Garroway [England], and would infallibly do the business.

He spoke to me of the difficulty there would be to keep such a secret, especially in Spain, where the English were masters of Grimaldo; did not seem to think it improbable but that the King of Spain might be brought into measures on this footing, but said he believed Solway [the Duke of Bourbon] would not. He added, that after the treaties they had signed (by which I imagine there are some new

treaties they had signed with England since his ministry), it would be a *trahison noir;* and that Solway had a great notion of the importance it was for him at present, to keep his word. I answered some general things to account for this breach of treaty which it is needless to repeat here, and afterwards I told him that I did not speak to him on this particular in quallity of a friend to Mercer, but as a minister to the King of France; and then asked if, for the surety and good of France, he could put in ballance an alliance and firm friendship with Spain with such a precarious one as they had with England. He said he really did not, and said that I should see the good oppinion he had of me by the confidence with which he would speak to me. He said he durst not open a matter of that kind to Solway, *ce n'est pas, dit il, que je me méfie de lui, ou que je ne connoisse sa bonne volunté dans le fond,* but there are people to whom he trusts, that have led him into so different measures and preach so much to him to keep his word to England, that I do not think I could succeed in any such proposal; and if I started such a hare, they would hunt it till they bred a division between us, which, besides other consequences, might be a loss to your master. But, said he, I have no objection to your making it to him. I said I had not the honour to be known to him, and therefore could [not] naturally have access to do it. He repeated that if things of this nature were insinuated to him by any other canal than his, if they did not good, they could do no hurt, but that it was absolutely improper for him to be the first mover of them.

I mentioned in the course of this conversation that the English would certainly profit much by this rupture, and might therefore, as well on this account as to recommend themselves to the Emperor, endeavour to blow the coals. He interrupted me and said it was quite otherways, and repeated that King George acted a very contrary part;

added that the Emperor was ill at the court of Garroway [England]; and that that matter was gone so far, that it could not well be made up, and said that even the nation had found his alliance burdensome and unprofitable to them. I observe upon this that it is probable, that Solway is endeavouring to make up matters with the King of Spain, by the mediation of King George, which I think I may suppose, from what he droped to me on this occasion, and from what he said before of Solway's being led by some people into very different measures.

I concluded by saying, that I hoped he would not take it amiss that I presumed to trouble him with my notions, which I submitted entirely to him. He said far otherways; desired I would continue to do so; and said he might make use of them at a time when I lest thought of it.

I did not think fit to speak to him as to the money affair, till I shall have conversed with Mr. Dicconson. When I am fully informed of that matter, and have been at the bottom of Mad. de M——rs [Meziers] part of it, I will return to speak to him on the subject.

During our conversation I mentioned to him Spain's being in treaty with the Emperor, as a circumstance which made this affair very serious. He said it was true that there had been a man at Vienna, whom he named, but that he was gone from thence all of a sudden, without having concluded any thing, as they believed.

He also told me he heard that Cardinal Alberoni was to be protector of Spain, and that our master had made his peace. I answered that if he should even go into Spain, I believed it would be very much to the advantage of France, in case they would enter into matters favorable for Mercer; for that I was convinced he would apply himself chiefly to serve him. He regretted Paxton's [the Czar] death, and said he had good reason to believe that the King of Spain's

correspondence with him was on Mercer's account; but said he had never mentioned it here. In answer to which, I agreed with him that the death of that person was a great loss.

I am informed that earnest letters have been writ from* ——— to the Pope, begging him to interpose in the present quarrel; and therefore I should humbly be of oppinion, that Mr. Knight [the King] should immediately make application and use all his interest with him, only to interpose on a footing of taking care of his concerns at the same time; or if he has already writ without making any mention of him, that he should by subsequent letters to both partys without loss of time, through† that matter into the negociation; and it appears to me plainly Piter's [the King] interest to obstruct it as much as is possible, while it is upon another footing; which will be no hard matter in so far as the Court of Rome may be concerned in it, because the Germans will in all appearance, labour in the same way. While Solway has hopes to do his business either by Rome or England, he will not in all appearance, harken to any proposal from Piter's quarter; but if he sees no other way left, it is not impossible but rather than not make up matters, he may give into that.

Mr. Knight is best judge what steps he ought to take either in regard of this court or that of Spain, on the lights I have endeavoured to give him; but it is fit he should know that the old credential for Daniel [O'Brien] to Solway was never delivered, and therefore it would be proper to send one for Daniel in proper termes, of a new date, if he has any prospect of dealing there."

After some other observations irrelevant to the main

* A word is evidently omitted here. The letters here mentioned may have been written to the Pope, either from the courts of France or Spain — the former however is here intended.

† Throw?

subject of his letter, he concludes, "I have nothing more to add, only that I desire you may lett me know naturally how far Piter approves or disapproves my conduct with Dagget, that I may act accordingly for the future."

MORPETH.

LETTER XXVIII. PAGE 146.

The following Memorandum from Sir Nicolas Geraldin was enclosed in Atterbury's letter, and is there referred to.

"Ther are several good shipps in St. Malo, from 16 to 30 gunns, w^{ch} may bee freighted by the month from three to five thousand leyvers a month accordeing y^{e} goodnes of y^{e} shipps & of beeing well mand, the owners of s^{d} shipps must have payd them foure months advance if ther should happen anny rupture wth Spaigne it will make the matter difficult, — ther may be had likewyse in Nantes some shipps to freight.

"I will undertake to provide & equipay a verry good frigat well maned from twentie to foure & twentie gunns for his Maiesties service, & imbarck myselfe on her for the better executeing his orders in amonths advise, & that att my cost & expence if ther bee need of a second shipp I will provide her att the beast & easiest tearmes possible for s^{d} tyme, as likewyse if it bee requisit to have more shipps I will use all my indevours to provide them, — provisions & all materials for shipps are verry deare wth us: its verry material to know if ther will bee anny imbarcation to provide provitions & water. I will not expres myselfe on annything ealsh oneley that I will obaye wth zeale & soumission & sacrifie myselfe for his Maiesties service.

NICOLAS GERALDIN.

Paris y^{e} 24^{e} March, 1725.

A Shipp of 16 gunns will carrie 200 men beeseyds her crew or equipadge
a Shipp of 20 gunns will carrie 250 men
a Shipp of 30 gunns will carrie 300 men wth ease beeseyds annything ealsh y^{t} may bee tought fitt to embarck as amunitions & provisions.

LETTER XXXI. PAGE 168.

James Keith, shortly after his arrival in Spain, appears to have entered into the Spanish service — though he soon discovered that his Protestantism was an insurmountable barrier to his being officially employed by the King. In a letter he addressed to Lord Inverness on the 1st of January, 1727, he observes, "I have offered my service to the King of Spain as a volonteer, since he will not employ me according to the commission I have in his service. You will perhaps think the scruple a little extraordinary when I tell you he has a regiment of Moors at the same time in his service, every one of them very good Mahometans. I have given in a memorial to be employed as Colonel, and I believe a letter from you, my Lord, to Father Clarck, in case you have any correspondence with him, might do the business. I dare not ask the King's recommendation in this, for fear it should be refused, which would give more uneasiness than carrying a musket my wholle life can do."

Hay answered this on the 18th of February, 1727, by assuring him, "that he could not give him a greater pleasure than by employing him in what may be for his service;" and follows up the observation by saying, "after considering that a letter on your affair to Father Clark from me, would be of little use, except it was writ in the King's name, I laid before His Majesty your letter of the

1st of January, and His Majesty was pleased to write to the said Father in your favour; by which his particular esteem for you will appear stronger than if I had writ by His Majesty's command."

No copy of the letter here mentioned as having been written by James to Father Clark, has been found; but Keith's acknowledgment of its receipt, and thanks for James' kindness, is dated from Valencia, January 3, 1728, and the delay that had taken place in sending this reply arose, as he observes, from a desire "to let your Majesty know the success of it." What he asked for, however, he was assured "was impossible to be obtained since the late strict edicts issued out by the King of Spain against the Protestants in his service; and this, Sir, obliges me," he continues, "to ask your Majesty's permission to treat with the Muscovite minister here. I have already obtained a letter to him in the King of Spain's name, and another to the Duke of Liria, ordering him to recommend me to the Czar, of which I take the liberty to send your Majesty the copies; but as I know that your Majesty's protection and recommendation will have at least as much weight with the Duke as an order from any other, I humbly entreat your Majesty will write to him, that it is with your consent and approbation I go; but if your Majesty thinks that in any other country in the world or in any other station, I can be of more use to your service, I hope your Majesty will do me the justice to believe, that I shall always think myself happier in obeying your Majesty's commands, than in receiving the greatest favours from any other Prince."

James complied with his request, and wrote to the Duke of Liria; and it was to thank him for this kindness that Keith addressed the following letter to him.

SIR,

I hope your Majesty will pardon my not having sooner

returned you my most humble thanks for the recommendation Your Majesty was most graciously pleased to honnour me with to the Duke of Liria; but as I expected every day his answer, I delay'd troubling Your Majesty till I shou'd know the success of it, which has been such that I can attribute to nothing but to Your Majesty's Royall protection, the employment he has obtained for me in that country: but whatever advantages I may have, either there or elsewhere, I beg Your Majesty to believe that I shall always be ready to quitte them with pleasure when I can have the honour to serve you either in the rank where Your Majesty's goodness has already placed me in your troops, or in any lower which you may think me fitter for, since my only ambition is to convince Your Majesty with how much submission and respect, I am,

Sir,

Your Majestie's most humble

and most dutiful subject and servant,

JAMES KEITH.

Madrid, May 23, 1728.

And thus began a career which, after much hard service and exhibiting some extraordinary instances of military genius, ended in the attainment of the highest military honours it was in the power of Russia to bestow. His subsequent history is well known: and it may therefore be almost needless to add, that he quitted the service of Russia for that of Prussia; and that he eventually lost his life at Hochkirken — enjoying at that time, an European reputation as Field-Marshal Keith, and the intimate friend and confidant of Frederick the Great.

It has been thought desirable to preserve the remembrance of these early passages in the life of James Keith —

taken as they are, from documents hitherto unexamined and almost unknown, and appertaining as they do, to the history of a man who afterwards became so celebrated.

PAGE 171.

POWER GRANTED BY JAMES TO ATTERBURY.

Having taken into my serious consideration the great prejudice my affairs suffer by my being at so great a distance from my faithfull subjects both at home and abroad, and how impossible it is for me in my present situation to give such early orders and directions upon every emergency that may occur, as the good of my service may require and especially in relation to the present intended expedition into Scotland. To remedy this as far as in me lies, and having the greatest trust and confidence in your fidelity and capacity; and considering moreover how entirely you have been intrusted by us for some time past with the secret of my affairs and negociations; I do hereby impower and authorize you to give such orders and directions to all my subjects now residing in France, relating to the present situation of my affairs, and especially to the intended expedition into Scotland as you shall think necessary and most conducive to the good of my service, having always due regard to such orders as our present distance may allow us to give. And I hereby declare that all such orders and directions given by you to any of my foresaid subjects, shall be as good and valid as given directly by myself: and I require my said subjects to look on them as such, and to give all due obedience to them accordingly; declaring moreover that this present power and authority given to you shall continue in force for six

months from the date hereof, unless recalled by me by a writ under my hand. Albano, June 15, 1725.

Signed JAMES R.

To the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

The above Power is entirely in James' own hand-writing. It is endorsed by Atterbury "Power to treat and act for six months, from June 15, 1725."

LETTER XXXII. PAGE 189.

There is a passage in one of Murray's letters to Hay (Feb. 5, 1725) which seemingly has reference to this subject, and where he informs him that "It is fit you should know that the P. de M. [Prince de Montauban] having it seems some apprehensions as to the payment of his wife's portion (which I hope are ill grounded) spoke freely to a person of quallity here on that subject, who informed himself therafter whether Martel [Lord Mar] had been authorized by Piter [the King] for what he undertook in his name. I never knew the real state of this transaction, but since, if there should happen any *éclat* on this matter, Piter will come in for his share at lest, of the discourse on that occasion, you will judge whether it be not proper to lett us know if Piter be engaged in this thing, or if Martel acted without his authority. The sum is no less than 400,000 livres."

This drew from Hay a reply, dated Feb. 27, 1725, in which he states, "As to the concern the King has in P. Montauban's Contract of marriage, the affair stands thus. The King sent a procuration to D. of Mar to pay down in his name 400,000 livres tournois, which sum, by an authentic copy of an article of the contract of marriage, which was sent the King, and which he has in his possession writ out upon Papier Timbrée in form, appears to have been paid and received; and that the parties concerned had returned to Mad. Mézières 360,000*l.* of the

said sum to be kept by her, she paying a suitable interest for it till such time as it should be employed for the provision of the children of the marriage, as stipulated by the Contract.

"It appears I think pretty plain that this authentick copy is a sufficient receipt for the money, since thereby the parties concerned, acknowledge to have received it, and the King seems to be noways concerned with the manner they employd the money in putting it into Madame Mézières hands, nor noways answerable for Mad. Mézières paying back this money again to them. What Mad. Mézières' true motive was of desiring the King to interest himself in this affair, is more than I can tell, but the reason she gave the King then for it was that her mother having given 13,000 guineas on the marriage of her daughter, it seems by the law of France, some difficulties might have been made as to the securing of this money to her daughter, and the other children might have pretended to part of that sum afterwards; therefore to remove all that, she gave the 400,000*l.* to the Duke of Mar that he might tell it down in the King's name, so that the money appearing to be given by the King, Madame Mézières' other children could have no pretention to it: but I believe the true reason might rather have been, that her daughter being married at the time when those who gaind most in the Missisippi were pretending poverty,—she was willing the King should have the show of giving this money, to prevent being called to account for having realized so much, or perhaps to strengthen the pretentions she might have afterwards relating to her actions. But as this is a private affair and in which she desired the greatest secrecy, it would by no means be proper for you to pretend to know the truth of the matter. And if she and Prince Montaban should come to a law suit together or the like, and that the King's name should be made a wrong use of in this affair, the

King thinks that you should represent to Mad. Mézières what you hear passing upon the subject, and how far the King being concerned, you may think yourself obliged to acquaint His Majesty of it; and this will in all probability pave the way for you to prevent the King's suffering in any manner in that affair."

The chief evidence, however, we possess that the Actions mentioned in the Bishop's letter, have reference to Mad. de Mézières and the affair above mentioned, arises perhaps, from one of the two letters which Murray sent to Hay on the 30th of April, 1725, and which seems decisive of the point; for he therein says, "I will not trouble your Lordship with an account of the steps I took with Madame de Mézière as to Mr. Knight's Actions, thinking it sufficient to tell you that they are actually delivered, and that I will go of purpose to speak to Mr. Dagget [the Bishop of Fréjus] on this matter to-morrow or next day. Upon examination, I did not find that Mr. Knight's pretentions had been put in the proper light by any of the Memoires yet presented, and therefore I have drawn a new one which Mr. Dicconson approved of, and I will carry a copy of it to Mr. Dagget, and send you another copy by next post."

LETTER XXXIII. PAGE 183.

Murray despatched four letters to Rome on the 30th of April — two addressed to the Chevalier, and two to Hay his brother-in-law. One of those to the former, relates to James' intention of appointing Murray governor to his son Charles Edward; and the other was exclusively devoted to his quarrel with Atterbury, which he thus represents.

THE HON. JAMES MURRAY TO JAMES.

SIR,

I am sorry to have occasion to acquaint Your Majesty, that after doing all I have been able on my part, I find it impossible for me to live any longer with the Bishop of Rochester.

I will not trouble Your Majesty with a detail of the treatment I have received from him, because it is an unfit subject to entertain you with, and because I should really be sorry to give him such a ridicule as that would certainly do; I will therefore content myself to say that, when I last waited upon him, he used me in such a manner that I cannot make him any more visits. I must confess to Your Majesty that on the small knowledge I had formerly of his temper, and on the particular accounts I received from a person whom I could not suspect, when I came to Paris last year, of the utter impossibility there was to agree with him in business of any sort, I was altogether frightened from medling in affairs, and that this chiefly obliged me to retire to Lorraine in the May thereafter, and afterwards to St. Germains, when my sister's journey brought me into these parts.

I now wish with all my heart, that I had continued in that oppinion; but still I comfort myself with the thoughts that what now happens, can be no greater inconvenience than if I had not entered into your business at all.

Your Majesty shall find no passion on my side in this matter; but as I believe I can now be of little service here, I humbly propose to Your Majesty, to give me leave to retire into Lorraine: yet if you think I can be any ways useful notwithstanding this incident, I shall at all times pay an entire obedience to your commands: but to suffer myself to be trampled upon, and that upon so foolish an occasion, is what Your Majesty is, I'm sure, to good to desire, and

what, I own, I would rather dye than submit to. I beg leave to put Your Majesty in mind, that in March or April, 1724, I presumed to give you a caution in general terms, on this subject. I could not be more particular then, but now, from the experience I have had, I think myself obliged to offer some things to you, which it is absolutely necessary for you to know: and I solemnly protest that I have no other view but that of your service, in writing them.

I have found the Bishop of Rochester, with a great vivacity of parts and the best intention in the world, in general to have a very narrow way of thinking. I have seen him, as I think, enter into the strangest refinements, and form what appeared to me, the oddest oppinions of publick affairs, of any man I ever was acquainted with; at the same time taking it extremely ill to be contradicted in them; never to be perswaded out of any notion he once advanced; and when one endeavoured it, disputing with an *aigreur* that I have all along suffered extreamly under. Now, Sir, give me leave to say, that on such occasions he must be resisted by some body, for were he to be flattered in these imaginations, which he would love of all things in the world, there would be often odd steps made, or perhaps no steps made at all, which would be of equal bad consequence.

I think it a great happiness that you have Mr. O'Brien for this purpose. He has good sense to judge;—is incapable of approving things he feels to be wrong out of flattery;—and is at the same time, the most polite and the sweetest tempered man, one of them, that ever was born.

I therefore conclude that if there is a man in Europe that can act in business with the Bishop, it is he. And if it were possible to give a lesson to a man of his age, I would fain hope that his scene with me, will prevent at lest his using certain words which, I am afraid, Mr. O'Brien would not like to hear, no more than I.

This is all I presume to trouble Your Majesty with on this disagreeable subject.

MORPETH.

Paris, April 30, 1725.

Of his two letters to Hay, one was entirely occupied by a narrative of the same untoward affair; the other touched only slightly upon the subject, being written more in reference to the Bishop's behaviour to Mr. John Ferguson. This latter will be noticed in a more fitting place: — the other is here given.

THE HON. JAMES MURRAY TO THE EARL OF INVERNESS.

MY LORD, *Paris, April 30th*, 1725.

You will find by what I write to the King by this post, that I have found myself under a necessity, which you may believe was very disagreeable to me, to break entirely with the Bishop of Rochester. The occasion of it is something so extravagantly out of the way, that I'm sure you will be astonished it should come from any man in his senses. Could you believe that it would have been imputed to me as a crime, to endeavour to unite France and Spain in order to serve the King? yet after a great deal of very absurd discourse on this subject, delivered in very ill humour, telling me that I dipped in popish measures, and that he would not have the King restored by a popish army, and far less at the Pope's intercession, he at last told me with a most insolent air, that he would rather have cut off his right hand, than have written my last despatch. I was so far master of myself that I made no answer, but got up with some vivacity and left the room. I imagined this whole conversation must have only been the effect of a sour humour to which he is extremely subject, and there-

fore, having waited one day in hopes to have heard from him, I sent him a message the next by Mr. O'Brien, to lett him know in the most respectful manner, that such a way of reasoning was not allowed of amongst gentlemen, and that I took his manner of expressing himself amiss; not doubting but on reflexion, he would have excused the matter: but having received no satisfaction, nor seen the lest mark as if he felt he had been in the wrong to me, I wrote him a letter, to which he writ an answer, justifying the part he had acted in every respect: upon which I took a resolution never to see him more; first, because if I had bended before him after what had passed, I should have exposed myself to be used like a footman hereafter in all his humours, and from that moment could no longer have been able to serve the King; and in the next place, because it becomes no man to talk to me in that manner, especially for no other reason but a chimera of his own, that no reasonable body can find common sense in. For these reasons I sent him word that if he did not make me an excuse for the affront he had given me, he should never see my face but at a distance; and I will be as good as my word, so that this is an *affaire finie.*

As to my own particular, you will see by what I have writ to the King, that I propose to retire to Lorraine; and I can sell my coach and horses for as much as will clear me of Paris.

I cannot express to you the pains I have taken to humour this man. I'm sure, when he used to vex my life out, always thinking there was not enough done against Martel, I have writ on several occasions things on that subject, only to please him, that were not naturally my own sentiments. I thought myself obliged on quitting these matters, to give the King some lights as to the manadgement of his affairs for the future, and I hope by that means they may go right, at least I sincerely wish they may. I own, I pity

O'Brien, and if he should send him *faire* also, I don't know what the King can do; for even in the case of a Memoire now to be given, it is not to be conceived what struggles he has had with him, first to get it done at all, and then to keep several strange things out of it; but my affair made him at last more tractable as to O'Brien, by which means the Memoire is luckily made pretty near what it should be, though not altogether.

This is all I shall trouble your Lordship with on this subject.

As might be expected, several of Murray's subsequent letters touch upon this subject. In one he addressed to Hay on the 8th of May, he observes, "What has happened between him [the Bishop] and me, is not of itself of any consequence, and it needs not even be known that I don't visit him, unless he thinks fit to publish it, which I believe he will not. I must confess, I hoped, that the plan of his discourse to me (abstracted from what was personal to myself in it) was the effect of humour, not having imagined that it could be the sincere oppinion of any man in his senses; but since I find by what has passed between Daniel [O'Brien] and him lately, that he continues after reflection, to talk in the same way, I cannot but say that it seems very extraordinary that after having attempted so many years in vain to obtain any assistance, we should now begin to be affraid of what has hitherto been the object of our wishes and endeavours. If there is place for such notions as these, at a time when there is so little probability of success, surely they might stop every thing, if on any happy conjuncture, the business were in a fair way. I find he is also in terror lest young Mr. Mercer [the Prince of Wales i. e. Charles Edward] should marry the Infanta, and told Daniel that some priests had talked to him of this — as if the thing was better or worse for their having thought of it; but

there is so little appearance of this, that surely he might spare himself the pain of this apprehension. In short, My Lord, I must own to you that I do not comprehend this way of thinking; but as I suppose he will explain to you his own sisteme, I desire you may take it from him and not from me; and I have still hopes that it is impossible that he can, at bottom, think so unreasonably, as it may be a certain humour made him talk to Daniel and to me. In all events, you will have a very difficult part to act, and you may depend on one thing, which is, that you only begin now to be acquainted with him. For my part I am entirely out of the question, and shall long for the King's answer to my last, which I hope will sett me altogether at liberty. As he dos not believe he ever did or said a thing improperly in his life, he has fifty imaginations on what is passed, which you'll do well to cure him of; as if you and I wanted to get rid of him, which God knows is as far from my thoughts as from yours. However it will be of the last consequence that somebody should be able to act with him, which I hope Daniel may, at lest I wish it, for otherways there will be odd work."

The next letter of Murray in the collection is dated May 14, and contains nothing directly pertaining to the quarrel; but it notices some of Atterbury's "refinements as to Prince Kurakin," and the uneasiness he felt at James' sojourn in Rome, during a council that was held there. This is followed by one dated June 4, on which day he appears to have received a letter from Hay, dated May 17, and although a copy of this communication has not been found, its purport may be easily surmised from the nature of Murray's reply. "I have given," he observes, "all possible attention to what you do me the honor to write me in relation to the B[ishop] of R[ochester], and have on all occasions the utmost deference for the K[ing]'s commands. If the B[ishop] would have made me the lest excuse,

I never would have seperated from him, as Daniel knows, who from the beginning endeavoured to no purpose, to bring him to it; and the moment he thinks fit to open the way to my waiting upon him again by doing what may be any ways reasonable, I will receive it with all my heart. But it could not be for the K[ing]'s service, and it would I presume, be very unfit for me to begin to converse with him of new, on a footing that would, from what has passed, give him a sort of right to use me in the like manner in time coming. Thus, My Lord, you see how I am determined by the K[ing]'s pleasure; though I cannot help saying that, even if this should happen, I'm affraid it will turn to no good account; for I cannot conceal from you, that I find plainly that, without regard to this particular, it is impossible for me to act in business with him: and if I could carry it on so many months, it was because, for a great part of the time, there was nothing to be done. He has told me, on several different occasions, that his head and mine were cast in very different moulds, and I protest it is true. I shall be far from detracting from any of his good quallitys, but if he has his *fort* he has his *foible*, of which he has no manner of feeling. If he had been employed from his youth in negociations at foreign courts, he could not reasonably have had a better oppinion of his judgement and skill in these matters, and at the same time he sitts in his closet and forms refinements, and if one endeavours to persuade him out of them, he takes it for contradiction and gets into bad humour .... He has upon many smaller occasions, a way of thinking which appears to me no less particular, so that it is impossible for me to act with him and not contradict him often, which I have always found displease, seldome or never convince, and generally end in putting him in very bad humour. What lengths he will go then, you may judge when I tell you, that I'm assured by a very honnourable gentleman of our acquaintance,

that he gave the lye to the Earl of Strafford and shook his cane over Sir Hary Goring's head."

"Every body knows the history of the quarrels and lawsuits he has had in all the degrees of his life, and how he quarrelled with all the different setts of the King's friends he ever acted with in England. The first part of this I always knew, but it is but lately I have been informed of the particulars of the last, else I declare I would have written of it to the K[ing] from the beginning. In fine, how can I pretend to perform what I am assured no man in E[nglan]d would undertake; and supposing it were possible for me to go on with him without a new *éclat*, which might be worse than the first, I cannot be employed in the K[ing]'s affairs on a footing of being blaimed for things I may endeavour in vain to prevent: so that, all things considered, I should think it best to leave that matter as it stands, and to lett Daniel continue to act with him, with whom I have never yet differed in oppinion on any occasion. However I will not go to any place distant from this, till I shall receive the K[ing]'s consent to it; and therefore as I sent you formerly an account how very near the summ of 3000 livres was disbursed, and as you may judge how far what I have otherways received might go, I hope you will endeavour to make it possible for me to subsist here."

"I must own I am afflicted when I reflect seriously on this situation, and in it you will do well to consider that it may be to the last degree dangerous to disoblige him; because if he was to give over medling in the K[ing]'s affairs, I'm affraid his passion might really perswade him and make him say, that his zeal for the Protestant Religion had made him disagreeable. I own to you it is my oppinion, that even Daniel will not at the long run, be able to hold it out with him; and what the K[ing] can do in that

case I cannot tell. I am extreamly concerned at the uneasiness this prospect must give the K[ing], but as it could not be possible to conceal these things from him, it is as well he should know them at present, because the judgement he makes, may be of use to guide him in the mean time; and for my part I declare, that I wish with all my soul, that the K[ing] may find that I am in the wrong in every one of these particulars. I have no sort of manadgement with the B[ishop] in regaird of myself, and therefore shall care very little, though copys of my letters were sent him from Rome as he expects; but on account of the K[ing]'s service I have hitherto taken all possible care to conceal even the appearance of any difference between us."

"I shall only give you the trouble further to tell you that I had promised to the B[ishop] in one of my letters to him, not to mention the subject on which our dispute happened, and that I intended so to do; but he sent me a message by Daniel, desiring I should tell the whole. This I thought proper to mention, lest he may have sent you the copy of my letter, in which case I would also send you his, in answer to which it was written. I communicated yours to Ferguson, and really what the K[ing] dos there, is charity well placed. He has been ill of a fever this week past. I charged him to continue discreet and silent, and not to mention this particular to any body living .... I am ashamed, My Dear Lord, to have writ you so long a letter, and that there is hardly any thing but what is disagreeable in it, but I must refer you to Daniel's *pour faire bonne bouche.*"

"I have red over what I have written, and think fit to add, that if the B[ishop] would have said from the beginning what it seems he has written to you, he might have spared you all this trouble, for I would always have accepted of

any thing that I could have construed to be a reparation; but this he utterly refused to Daniel, and his letter to me is in the same strain."

The allusion in the last paragraph of the above extract, is evidently to Atterbury's letter to which this portion of the Appendix belongs; and immediately after the receipt of which, Hay must have written to O'Brien to attempt to bring about a reconciliation: for the latter in a communication, dated the 4th of June, 1735, says, "Je navois pas attendu vos ordres pour me donner tous les mouvements possible pour reconcilier Messrs. Galiffer [l'Évêque de Rochester] et 528 [Mr. Murray] sans avoir esté assez heureux jusques apresent que dy parvenir."

"Javois compris dès le premier moment, de quelle mauvaise consequense il estoit pour le service de Mr. Leuiston [le Roy], que des personnes qui luy sont si attachez et si utille fussent désunis, surtout dans un temps ou un concert unanime est absolument necessaire pour menager les affaires qui sont sur le tapis."

"Jay passez une partie de la journée avec lun et lautre. Je leurs ay dit tout ceque mon respectueux attachment pour Mr. Sweetman [le Roi] et mon amitiez pour eux, pouvoit me sugerer pour finir cette affaire alamiable, et comme ils mont parlé avec beaucoup de moderation, jose esperer, sans pourtant lassurer, que jeseray en estat de vous mander leurs reconciliation par le p^r^ [première] ordidinaire. Personne au monde ne la souhaitte plus que moy, et joray au moins la satisfaction, si je ne suis pas assez heureux que dy reussir, de navoir rien negligez de ma part pour finir une brouilleries dont les suittes auroient de facheuses consequente."

Hay, doubtless, at the same time wrote also to Mr. Murray, urging him to make up this difference; for on the 16th of June, which is long before he could have received the letters that Murray and O'Brien forwarded

to him on the 11th of that month, he wrote both to his brother-in-law and to the Bishop. To the latter he says, "I hope by this time Mr. Murray will have been to wait upon you, and that all that past so disagreeable and destructive to the King's affairs, will be forgot and no more thought of. If it proves otherways, I hope the want of him will be but a small obstacle to your carrying on the King's affairs on this important occasion." And he informs Murray that "The King is mighty uneasy to find that you had not yet seen the Bishop. I long for the next posts coming in, hoping to hear by it that all that disagreeable affair is over." Four days after (June 20) he again writes to Murray and O'Brien. To the former he thus expresses himself, "I hope by next post to hear that the reunion, which I gave you the trouble to interest yourself in, shall have followed upon the representations you have made on that score. The common interest is so nearly concerned in it, that I was hopeful the seperation would not have lasted so long;" and to Murray he states his expectation that he shall hear by next post "of your being upon the same friendly footing you ever was with the Bishop, who will want all the lights that can be given him, for executing what will be necessary, if the Highlanders be to be assisted, or if we have agreeable news from the North, which God grant may be the case."

Murray's next communication to his brother-in-law is dated the 11th of June, in answer to one he had received from Hay of the 24th of May, which seems to have enclosed one from James himself. In this letter he says, "I shall, in the first place, acquaint you that after having received the K[ing]'s letter, I resolved immediately to shew my obedience, and therefore was to see Ramsay [Atterbury]; but I have taken the liberty to represent to H[is] M[ajesty] that it is not in my power to

continue to act with him in business. It is altogether in vain to preach to me on this subject, for nobody is more sensible than I am, of the ill consequence any *éclat* of this sort would be of, and even of the ridicule it would give, which touches me very nearly; but necessity has no law. It is easie for one to argue as you do, and I should have acted the same part in your station; but allow me to say, that it is impossible for you to have a notion of the bottom of this matter. I take it for granted that the K[ing] must blaim me exceedingly, and I dare say you must be of the same oppinion, because I believe, in your case, I should have thought so of any other person in mine. But this I submit to, and only feel the fault I committed to engage in Affairs with Ramsay against the light of my own conscience. *Tempo e galant huomo;* and remember I tell it you, that before many months pass, you may have reason to find that I am not so much out of the way as I may appear. I never passed an hour *tête à tête* with Ramsay but I had rather have walked two leagues. I wish however that this may appear particular in me; but in all events I cannot resist the things I meet with, and I desire you would be firmly perswaded that it is impossible for me to deal with him. I will do what I can, but how many days or weeks it may last, I cannot tell; and tho it is possible that I might be of some use, I do not think I am in any sort necessary. I will not trouble you with any account of my conversation with Ramsay when I saw him, tho it was a very odd one, because I am quite tired of such things."

By this time, therefore, (June 11,) Murray had so far put aside his determination, that, in compliance with Hay's earnest wish, and James' expressed desire, he again visited Atterbury, and was apparently reconciled with him. On this last-mentioned day O'Brien again wrote to Hay, stating his satisfaction at the event. "Je vous aprendray

avec plaisir que Messrs. Galiffer [l'Évêque de Rochester] et 528 [Mr. Murray], se sont vu hier et embrassez, jéspere quen fort peu de temps lunion et la confiance sera entierement retablie entre eux et que le passez ne servira qua resserer les neuds de leurs amitiez a lavenir."

These letters from Murray and O'Brien of the 11th, were replied to by Hay on the 27th of June, at which time he also wrote to Atterbury. In that to O'Brien he compliments him upon the successful result of his exertions in bringing about this reconciliation. "The accounts," he says, "the letters dated the 11th of June brought of the two accomodations* you there mention, were very satisfactory and of consequence for the King's service. The King is perswaded that your endeavours have very much contributed to both, and I am very hopeful, as you say, that what has past shall rather serve to encrease the friendship betwixt the Bishop of Rochester and Mr. Murray." He assures Murray that "It was a satisfaction to the King to know that your affair was made up with the Bishop of Rochester. I hope you shall be better friends than ever and that what is past shall be forgot on all sides."

His letter to the Bishop is more lengthy on this point; and while it expresses his own satisfaction, proves that James himself wrote by the same post to Atterbury; and had the Chevalier's letter been found, it would have put us in possession of his own sentiments on the conclusion of this unpleasant affair. Hay tells the Bishop, that "As the King expresses himself to you the satisfaction your letters of the 11th of June gave him on many accounts, allow me to have a share lykewise in the same pleasure. Your desiring that the difference betwixt Mr. Murray and you may be forgotten, and that neither the King nor even

* Between Atterbury and Murray; and between Prince Kurakin and the Envoy of the Duke of Holstein at Paris.

I, should give you my thoughts upon it, is of a piece with your conduct throughout all that affair. It is certain that the sooner disagreeable accidents are forgot, so much the better; and the fewer people hear of them, and the less they are explained or dived into, the easier they are cured: and I hope the King will never blame me for not being too forward in informing him of the particulars of a disagreeable affair, that could only serve to give him uneasyness and is no ways useful to him to know: and I don't find that the account Murray gave me of his abrupt leaving of you, or of the occasion of it, any ways differs with what you say upon it in the paper the King received from you by this post; and he only mentions the fact barely with the discourse that occasioned your warm expression to him, without sending the letters that past on either side. But I must leave this subject, else I shall draw myself in to give my opinion of it, which you don't desire I should, and which is indeed entirely useless." The further mention of this subject appears to have ceased with Murray's two letters to Hay, dated July 16; in one of which he states, "I shall do what I possibly can to act agreeably to his [the King's] wishes, and I hope I may be able to do it, because as I am no longer in the same familiarity with the B[ishop], I may thereby avoid occasions of displeasing him, and making myself uncasie at the same time." And in the other, "I can only say, my dear Lord, that I never had a notion of suffering by any affront from the B[ishop]: but you will allow me, that if certain decencys are not observed, there is no living together, because no man can be absolutely sure of his temper on such occasions. I hope for the future we shall be on a footing that will not leave room for any such things, for since I am not troubled with his speculations, I am not under any necessity of contradicting him in them. I will go to him as often as the [King]'s business leads me, and certainly

will on my part, use all the care I can, not to provoke him. As for anything else, I know his temper too well, not to be perswaded that he never will, at bottom, bear the thoughts of a man who has dared to resist him; and to tell you the truth, that gives me no pain."

LETTER XXXIX. PAGE 198.

The following extract is taken from Mr. Ferguson's letter, which he wrote to Mr. Hay on the very day (April 30, 1725,) that Murray despatched to James an account of his own quarrel with Atterbury, and his determination not to act more in concert with him.

"I have been with Mr. Murray this day," he observes, "who tells me that your Lordship mentions the receipt of mine, and that you desire to know how I stand with the Bishop. Hes the person that can best inform your Lordship why I left him, having never as yet spoke to any other person on that head but Mr. M[urray]. I wish with all my heart, that the B[ishop] himself had acquainted your Lordship with the reasons that obliged me to leave him; he has never yet ventured to speak of this affair to Mr. M[urray], though I am sure it would not been keept so long a secret, neither from your Lordship nor him, if the B[ishop] could have justly charged me with anything thats blamable; and as I am sure he cannot, so I shall frankly and canditly tell your Lordship one reason (not to trouble you with many more which I have) and that is, the violente and strong passions which every day he is lyable to. They carrie him to such a degree, as makes him say things as are not to be born by any man of honor or honesty. For the sake of our Master's service, I bore of him more than ever I thought I could have done from any person alive; and when I could stand it no longer, I thought the most prudent thing I could doe, was to quit him, which I did

without loosing the respect due to his character or ever mentioning what had happened to any mortall except Mr. M[urray]; and in this way I resolve to carrie myself, as well knowing that there are severall here, who would be glad to devert themselves with such stories, at the expence of the common cause. When I cannot serve it, I shall never be an instrument to hurt it, which is a principle of mine I shall never recede from. I continue to visit him, and am well enough received. There is one thing I have observed, ever since I had the honor to be acquainted with the B[ishop], not without great concern, and that is, his excessive credulity in believing stories without the least foundation, and repeating them as well-grounded truths. This weakness to my certain knowledge, has already disobliged severall of the King's best subjects, and your very humble servants. Its to you my Lord, and to you alone, that ever I have mentioned this; and if its of any use to you, its all I propose."

Just at this time too, a thought crosses Mr. Murray's mind, to do (as he expresses himself) justice to Mr. Ferguson; and although he seems to have, hitherto, shunned the office, he, on the self same day that he forwarded his account of the quarrel (April 30, 1725), writes to Hay in favour of Mr. Ferguson as follows: "I would not hitherto write to you on Ferguson's score, but I cannot now refuse to do him justice. In the first place he is a very honest, sensible, discreet, rough fellow, and when the B[ishop] came to Paris last year, I never heard such pannagericks as he made of him, at the time he gave it me in commission to write to you in his behalf. It is not amiss to tell you, that the B[ishop] since asserted to my face, that he never gave me such a commission; and that there passed very positive affirmations on both sides, by which I found at lest that he had a bad memory. When I proposed to you to

give Ferguson twenty pence a day, I thought he would have had his lodging and, in a great measure, his nourishment, at the Bishop's house: but since the Bishop begun his milk diet, he was cut off from the last, and was obliged several months ago, to leave the B[ishop], having been used like a dogue by him. I dealt with him not to speak of this to any living soul, and prevented his giving the B[ishop] the strangest ridicule in the world, for he told me passages that I can see to be very natural, but such as you would not believe. You'll be pleased to enter into the poor man's situation as the price of things are here .... He tells me therefore he is indebted for 350 livres, and the B[ishop] engaged him to live at Paris, promising that he would write to you for him, when the man wanted to have gone to Scotland a great while ago, and now he will not do it. I am glad to advertise you that, if there should be occasion to send any one before hand to Scotland, I know no man so fit to be trusted, in every respect, as he; and that it will be worth Mr. Knight's [the King] while to continue the old allowance and pay his debts with that view: after which he might live in the country, or if you think this not fit, since the B[ishop] brought him to Paris and keeped him here, I do think the K[ing] can do no less than pay his debts and give him some small matter to carry him home. Here is a very long article on a matter of small consequence, but I could not in good nature, do less than lay open to you this man's case."

Letter xliii. Page 212.

The following is the first letter written by James to the Clans, before he was acquainted with the stringent nature of the Act for disarming the Highlanders, and before he had resolved to give them all the assistance in his power to resist its enforcement. It was addressed,

FOR THE MARQUIS OF SEAFORT, SIR HECTOR MACLEANE, LOCHEILL, AND THE CAPTAIN OF CLANRANALD.

Rome, May 29, 1725.

I receive your letter of the 13. May, as a new mark of your submission and zeal towards me, as well as of a just concern for your native country. You know the tenderness I have ever bore for my ancient kingdome, and particularly for my brave and faithful Highlanders; and their present cruel situation hath been the more sensible to me that, after the most serious reflexion, I could not discover what might depend on me for their relief at this juncture: for as I have not as yet, an immediate assurance of foreign assistance, I cannot encourage their makeing an open resistance to what is now designed against them, without exposing them to certain ruin for want of support, so that the remedy in that case, would become worse than the decease. All therefore that can in prudence be done at this time, is for you to write over to your friends at home that they may conceal their arms, and take all such like measures as may hinder as much as possible, what they are threatened with, from taking effect; but you must also lett them know, that they should not by any means, make a public resistance till they receive my orders for so doing, which I cannot in justice send them, till I have a moral certainty of being able to support them. That is not the present case, but it may happen sooner than we are aware. The present divisions among the Princes of Europe give me more reason that I ever had, to hope for some favorable and speedy change in my behalf: and the hardships my faithful subjects are newly exposed to, will make me redouble, if possible, my endeavours towards all that may contribute to their relief. The Bishop of Rochester hath my directions to discourse with you fully on the contents of this letter, and to him I shall referr you for any other

directions it may be requisite should be given you, only adding here, that I am persuaded that you will not lett yourselves be discouraged by these repeated disappointments and misfortunes, but, animating yourselves with the pleasing prospect of a speedy delivery, continue to preserve yourselves in a condition of profiting of the first favorable opportunity, by a strict union among yourselves, as well as by a constant adherence to the good cause to which you have been and are so great a support, and will I hope yet ere long, not a little contribute to make it flourish again and yourselves with it.

JAMES R.

PAGE 213.

LOCHEILL AND SIR HECTOR MACLEANE TO JAMES.

SIR,

My Lord Marquis of Seafort having sent for us to come to him upon the 28. of last month, which we accordingly did, his Lordship opened your Majestie's letter directed to us all in generall, which he had received from the Bishop of Rochester, and wherein we were mighty glad to find that your Majestie had graciously offered us all the assisstance we could reasonably have expected; but we were extreamly mortified, when at the same time My Lord Seafort told us that it was all too late, for that he had received good intelligence from England that the troops were soe far advanced allready, that they could not faille of being incamped and possess'd of the country, before we could be there, and consequently rendre all our endeavours to bring it relief, fruitless; and that he had upon the receipt of this intelligence, which he thought sure and sufficient grounds to goe upon, sent orders to his men to delivre up theire arms, thinking it the most safe and prudent way of acting, as matters stood, and most tending to your Majestie's

service and the benefit of the country; and that he doubted not but, after serious reflexions upon the matter, we would think that course the most adviseable for us to follow likewise. Upon which, considering upon one hand, the person who gott the intelligence to be of soe known zeal and affection for your Majestie's service, that we are perswaded he would do nothing he thought prejudiciall to it; and on the other hand, seeing his resolution and conduct upon receiving this intelligence, we thought it our duty to let your Majestie know, we are humbly of opinion, that our undertakeing any thing at present, could noe ways advance your Majestie's service or the good of the country; at the same time assuring your Majestie, that if you think otherwise, we are ready to obey your Majesties orders with all chearfullness, as we shall ever be upon all occasions, to make it appear to your Majestie with how much zeal and duty we are

Sir,
Your Majesties
Most faithfull, most humble,
and most obedient
Subjects, and Servants,
LOCHEILL
Paris, July 2d. 1725. MACLEANE.

To this letter, besides desiring Atterbury to say all that was kind to them in his name, James sent the following reply.

[Copy.]

JAMES TO LOCHEILL AND SIR HECTOR MACLEANE.

Rome, July 18th, 1725.

I have received yours of the 2nd July, and cannot but

be sensibly concerned to find affairs in such a situation, that my faithful Highlanders would not be able to reap any advantage from the willingness and readyness I was in, to have assisted them on this occasion. I shall be on all others equally disposed to help them, and I heartily wish that by a strict union and harmony, and a discreet rested zeal for the good cause amongst all concerned in it, they may yet be able one day, to make the most handsome appearance in its and their own defence. Your zealous and dutyful behaviour on this occasion is what I shall ever retain the most grateful memory of, and I hope the day will yet soon come, in which I may be able to distinguish those who have on all occasions so signalized themselves for my service.

JAMES R.

The joint letter it will be seen, was written on the same day that Atterbury transmitted to the Chevalier his account of the transaction to which it relates. Lord Seafort delayed writing till the 17th of the month, when he forwarded the following letter.

THE MARQUIS OF SEAFORT TO JAMES.

SIR,

It is with the greatest reluctancy I put pen to paper to trouble your Majestie with this, being fully perswad'd that what ever comes from me, has still the misfortune to be disagreable to you. However, as the situation of affairs now stands, the duty I ow to your Majestie, as well as that to myself and famillie, obliges me not to be silent, but fully state the case, that, shou'd wrong representations (which I am perswad'd are not wanting) be lay'd before your Majestie, you may the better judge of the whole, and

conclude what is most proper towards forwarding the interest we ought all to promote — your Majesties and the countrys.

When the rumour of disarming the Highlanders was first spread at Paris, Sir Hector Macleane with Locheille, came to me to have my opinion what was most convenient to be don, for preventing the Governments compassing what they seem'd to threaten, by bringing in an act for the better subduing those parts, [which] were ever most stedfast to your Majesties interest. My return to what they propos'd was, that as in all probability your Majestie had better intelligence from those you trusted in England, how far they were like to proceed, so it was our duty to wait your orders, and not for us to give directions in so critical a juncture. Which answer the Captain of Clan Ranald fully approv'd of, and resolv'd in conjunction with myself, to adhere to, since we cou'd see no visible reason for altering our opinion; but the other two gentlemen being every day more importune, by suggesting the fault might come to be lay'd at our doors, shou'd we still refuse to concur to represent, by a general letter to your Majestie, our sentiments of this unlucky business. Out of condesention to them, more than any other motive, the Captain of Clan Ranald and I, agreed, Sir, to write, to inform you of what we heard, but not to offer to direct; and that on two accounts: first, because your Majestie's good sense wou'd not faile to suggest what was needfull; and secondly, our being ignorant of the situation of your affairs here, put us out of a capacity of entering on any such detaile. Accordingly your Majestie had the trouble of a letter, which I propos'd shou'd be sent directly to you, without passing thoro' any hands till lodg'd in yours, firmly believing any thing, Sir, from your Highland subjects, had weight enough of itself, not to need an introductor. But this was

thought, as I had good reason to suspect, a sort of a slight put on some here, and consequently occasion'd their urging an express immediately to be sent to acquaint your Majestie more throughly, as it was term'd, of the posture the Highlands then was in. Both the Captain of Clan Ranald and I, disapprov'd of that piece of conduct, as useless, having say'd all was needfull before, and utterly refus'd to come into that scheme: but that not being sufficient to persuade the other two, they write a second letter to your Majestie, much to the same purpose with the first, it not being in their power to make any great alteration. However the time we expected the honour of your Majestie's return being expir'd, made us all uneasy, and espetially since we had letters from Rome, giving an account of your having writ to us with your orders, insinuating at the same time to avoid the impendent storm was thought to be most to the purpose, in order to preserve our people for a more fit opportunity, to excert themselves for so good a cause. I must own this was always my opinion, and still the more, that I found it suited with your Majestie, which made me immediately send orders to my men to deliver their arms, and so endeavour by that, if possible, to shelter themselves from future harm: besides, knowing the state of our country, and fully suspecting it out of your Majestie's power to give us that support the present occasion requir'd or your inclinations prompt'd you to, and having at that juncture, just receiv'd letters from England, requireing my positive directions one way or other, in relation to what was to be don,—that belonging to me being the first to be attack'd, made it, out of all doubt, appeare the most prudent method to follow. About a fortnight after this, I had, with the rest, the honour to receive a letter from your Majestie, wherein you are pleas'd to mention one you writ the 29th May. After reading what you thought fit to im-

part to us, we all, unanimously, agreed, that no return cou'd be made to what your Majestie sent, till we saw the first, which both out of duty to you, Sir, and respect to us all, we thought the Bishop of Rochester wou'd not venture to refuse to deliver. But after his Lordship was acquainted of our sentiments, he not only deny'd to comply, but even to give a relevent reason for his so unaccountable a behaviour. Your Majestie's sentiments not jumping with his, at first was visible to all where the stop lay, and till that was remov'd, nothing was to be don. Such practices are dangerous, and may occasion inconveniences as may draw after it consequences, ought, on all occasions, to be avoided. But infine, to convince your Majestie that nothing was wanting to testify my zeal for your cause, I told the Bishop, if what informations I had given hitherto in relation to the present affairs, did not seem sufficient to make him alter his mind, I thought it was but a justice he ow'd, Sir, to your service, as well as to me in particular, to shew any further lights he had; that if his was found of more weight, I cou'd soon alter my opinion, never being so far a slave to it, as not to comply with those has most reason on their side. This unluckily underwent the same fate with the rest, and seem'd to lodge either sense, or understanding, but in the breast of one, which, with the little I have, soon perceiv'd the mistake. The character I have the honour to bear in my country, with my endeavours as well as power, for your Majesties interest, challenges other sort of treatment, and what I shou'd never have expected, had I not found all a long, your inclinations, Sir, to use me after a more singular manner than —— others in the same class with my self.

Cou'd I have express'd my thoughts in more concise terms, I shou'd not have presum'd to have writ so long a letter; but as the nature of the subject put it out of my

power, your Majestie will the readier pardon what cou'd not be avoided.

I am with profound respect
Sir,
Your Majestie's dutifull subject and most
Obedient humble servant
SEAFORT.

July the 17th, 1725.

To this letter, James, on the 6th of August, sent the following answer.

[Copy.]

JAMES TO LORD SEAFORT.

Rome, August 6th, 1725.

I find that by your letter to me of the 17th July, you seem to take amiss the Bp. of Rochester's not delivering a letter which I sent him for you and some others of my subjects in France; but you will be of another opinion when I tell you that my orders to the Bp. were conditional as to the delivery of that letter, and that I find my intentions and directions have been follow'd exactly by the Bp. in not delivering it. The distance I am at, occasions orders of that nature to be sometimes necessary.

I wish you had not sent orders to your Following to deliver up their arms, till you had received my orders on that head, or that you had at least acted in that respect in concert with Lochyel and the other Clanns; for a strict union amongst yourselves can only render any steps my faithful subjects in the Highlands may take, of advantage to the cause: and had my expectations been fullfilled, you

would have been sorry for the advice you sent to your friends so early.

I am perswaded you have the good of the cause very much at heart, and that your love for your country will allow you to neglect nothing that can advance it: and I must recommend to you in a particular manner a strict union with those whom I employ in the management of my affairs; for without that, business never can go on smoothly; and the enemies of the cause, must have great advantages over those who struggle for it.

I know the value and esteem the Bp. of Rochester has for you, and you do not do him justice in believing him capable of not executing my orders dilligently and faithfully; and it was with pleasure that I observed his forwardness and zealous desire to be useful to my faithful subjects in the Highlands of Scotland, on this late occasion.

I would fain hope that the sufferings of my faithful subjects are near an end; and I can't doubt of your readyness to contribute to it, neither ought you of my sincere kindness for you.

JAMES R.

On the 30th of the following October, Lord Seafort appears to have again written to James, and that too, if we may argue from the Chevalier's reply, in a style little according with his Lordship's station or James' fallen condition. This letter has not been preserved, and we can only know of its having been sent, and of the particular tone in which it was written, from the following which James wrote in acknowledgment of its receipt, and a rough copy of which, in the hand-writing of Lord Inverness, still remains in the Collection.

[Copy.]

JAMES TO THE MARQUIS OF SEAFORT.

Rome, Nov. 21st, 1725.

I have received your letter of the 30th of October. I shall not take any particular notice of the stile in which it is writ, nor of the complaints made by it; my circumstances having but too often exposed me to freedoms in both these respects, which I am willing to overlook in those who I believe to be my friends. What is certain is, that I always intended and do still intend, to distinguish you with publick marks of my favour, which being the case, I should have expected that you would have left it to me to judge of the proper time of doing it.

The many instances I have always received of your zeal for my service, and the just sense I have always had and expressed of them, makes me hope that your future behaviour will be agreeable thereunto. I shall always be willing and ready to contribute to your personal advantage and that of your family, having a just value for both; but as to the leave you ask me for using your endeavours to obtain liberty from my enemies to return to your own country, —that is a very delicate matter, and depends upon circumstances of which I am not informed, and therefore cannot judge; but in general you must be sensible, that I never will approve of any steps, already made or to be made hereafter, which can be constructed to be contrary to your honour or my interest. I hope you have all along been guided in the part you have acted in my service, by a firm principle of loyalty, and that you are as sincere in it as I am in my resolutions to bestow particular marks of my favour and protection on you and your family; which therefore I desire you may depend upon."

The correspondence and probably the connection between Lord Seafort and the Chevalier appear to have terminated with the following letter, at least none of a date posterior to it, has been discovered in the Collection.

The Marquis of Seafort to James.

Sir,

I take the liberty to acquaint you, that my friends have obtain'd leave for me to return to Brittain.

Last year I lay'd before your Majestie for your approbation, the proposal made me by my people, and (as on all former occasions as often as I beg'd any favours) your Majestie was pleas'd to decline it, supposing it not consistent with your interest or my honour. But since I can satisfy you it is contrary to neither, I have now embraced it, rather than starve where I have been so many years unregarded.

Had your Majestie don me the honour to herken to me, without presumption I can affirm, I might have been more usefull. But so far from that, that after losing my estate, venturing my life, and keeping up my men for the space of eleven years in readiness to receive your commands, you even refus'd to shew them or me any countenance, or marks of your approbation of our conduct, and wou'd neither hear nor see me, nor admit me into any of your Concils, but leave me to be at the beck of such as either did not understand your interest in our parts, or wilfully made it give way to their own.

Severall months ago when your Majestie was pleas'd to write your thoughts of the disarming the Highlanders, your Minister here wou'd not so much as let me see your letter address'd to myself (of which and its contents I had advice) but contrary, Sir, to your sentiments, wou'd have

me go to Scotland to oppose the measures that were resolv'd on there. I was no stranger to what we cou'd do: nor did I doubt but I cou'd disappoint them for that season, but to the inevitable destruction of my people; because we cou'd not always keep the field, and when they wou'd return to their respective homes, must expect to be pick'd up one after an other, by troops quarter'd on their skirts for that purpose; and pursuant to act of Parliament, sent as soldiers to the Indies, thence never to return, on pain of being hang'd. By which means, the present set of inhabitants must be lost, and the country planted with others [who] wou'd be as much my enemies as these now are my sincere friends. Might not mankind in that respect, censure me as an ungratefull wretch, that wou'd venture the ruin of that brave and faithfull people who were ready to hazard all was dear to them for me. Your Majestie's minister told me I might depend upon foreign aid: but wou'd not let me know from what quarter. I did not question his fidelity, nor his being as great a statesman as the world allows him a scholar; but before I cou'd pin my beliefe upon any man's sleeve, in a case of that consequence, I must needs suppose him as much inspir'd in politicks, as others have been in Divinity: which I thought not; because I knew he was misinform'd in things were as much within my sphere, as they were out of his. For my further encouragement he say'd he wou'd prevail with your Majestie (on condition of my complyance) to grant me whatever was in your power. But the reason already offer'd, was sufficient to withstand all temptations: and if I were to be honour'd with your Majestie's favour I shou'd not be fond of owing it to any but your self. I enquir'd of him what cou'd be the reason of your Majestie's refusing every thing I offer'd at; he answer'd that I had writ disrespectfull letters. I have since perus'd the copys of all I ever gave my self the honour of

writing to you; and can not (according to my way of thinking) find any cou'd give offence. The situation of your affairs, Sir, seem'd to require that my letters shou'd be more sincere than courtly: and I was willing to show that I cou'd distinguish between the frown and smile of my prince. But if by too plain dealing that way I have offended, I humbly ask pardon, for 'twas beyond my intention. I am apt to think that those who wou'd cut your throat with a feather, wrote in a more smooth stile: but I love candour, and beg leave to appeal to your Majestie whether it were not a hardship to serve any prince on earth that us'd me, as I suppose your enemies advis'd you to treat me, and whether as a faithfull and loyal subject I ought not rather to retire where I can subsist inoffensively than follow a court longer.

Infine, my men are disarm'd, and so am I of cours; my honour is engag'd for theirs and my peaceable behaviour, consequently equall to your Majestie's interest — whether I return to what was my home or remain longer abroad. Tis allow'd at all hands, that conquest doe justify a subject's submission. Whether the kingdom be conquer'd or not, I think, I am. If any is so loyall as to judge otherwise, let him do more than I have done, if he can: and that man and no other, is more justly intitled than my self, to be esteem'd

Sir,
Your Majesties most Dutifull
and Obedient humble Servant
and Subject.
SEAFORT.

Paris, 30*th July*, 1726.

PAGE 214.

Allan Cameron when he left Rome on his mission to the Highlands, received the following instructions.

[L. S.] JAMES R.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR MR. ALLAN CAMERON.

You are with all expedition and dilligence to repair to the Highlands of Scotland, where you are to make it your business to see the noblemen and gentlemen Chiefs of the Clanns, and after communicating to them the contents of the general letter you are charged with to them from Us, you are to assure them in the strongest terms and from your own knowledge, of the just concern and uneasyness We are under when our brave and faithful Highlanders are in so imminent danger of utter destruction and ruin.

That on our part we shall do all in our power for their delivery, that we have reason to hope for speedy assistance from foreign Princes, whereby we will be enabled effectually to rescue them from the barbarity and cruelty of our and their enemies.

That in the mean time the better to enable them to defend themselves, We are, with all expedition, to send an experienced General to them with some Officers, arms, ammunition and provisions; that on their own accounts as well as ours, we expect that they will heartily and unanimously concurr with him in all measures necessary for their own preservation, and to distress the common enemy.

You are to mention these particulars or such of them, as your own prudence and your knowledge of the tempers and dispositions of the different people you have to do with, shall direct you; and by all means you are to endeavour to keep them in concert and unity amongst themselves; and for that end, in Our name, to exhort and press

them to it, as what will be most agreable to Us; the means of their own preservation; and the glory of our brave and faithful Highlanders to after generations.

You may also mention the above particulars to such other gentlemen of the Highlands as you know to be in credit and reputation in the country.

You are to keep an exact Journal and Diary of all you do in that country, and from time to time as you shall find occasion, you are to transmit a copy of the same to Us, or our principal Secretary of State; with such accounts of the situation of affairs there, as you shall be able to give.

When you are at Paris, you are to wait of the Bishop of Rochester, and to receive from him what further Instructions he may have to give you, which you are to follow in the same manner as if they were herein set down.

Given at our Court at Albano the 16th day of June, and of our Reign the 24th year, 1725.

By His Majesty's Command.

INVERNESS.

The original of these Instructions, being the very document which Mr. Cameron was to carry with him into Scotland, and which in fact he did carry with him to Paris, is now in the collection. There is also a copy in Edgar's handwriting, with the following endorsement by Hay "Copy, Instructions for Mr. Allan Cameron, June 16th, 1725."

With these Instructions, Cameron also carried the following letter, written by James himself and addressed "To the Noblemen and Gentlemen, Chiefs of the Clans in the Highlands of Scotland."

Albano, June 13, 1725.

The bearer of this is so well known to you, and so amply

instructed, that I need say the less to you here. You know me I hope too well, not to be persuaded of the sentiments with which I am affected, on the ruin and destruction with which my brave Highlanders are threatened. My whole care and thoughts are turned to what may contribute to your delivery, and every thing that is in my power shall be employed to support you in that vigorous resistance which you will now make. This is the time to act like true patriots in defence of your liberty and for the good cause to which you are so great an honor and support. The measures our enemies are now taking, sufficiently shew how much they both fear and esteem you; and I doubt not but that by your vigorous resistance, you will give them cause to repent of their undertaking, and afford me the most encouraging and prevalent arguments to obtain soon wherewithal to effectuate your delivery in person. My only regret is, the not sharing with you from the very beginning, in all the danger and toil of so glorious an enterprize, which will I hope with God's blessing, be the foundation of my restoration, and yours to your liberties and properties, which are at all times dear to me, and the support of which will be my greatest care when once among you.

JAMES R.

LETTER LX. PAGE 292.

Account of nine Papers contain'd in Bundle 5, of the Papers deliver'd in by Mr. Dillon, 17 June, 1725.

Letters from the King to dated September, 1721.

- Lord Glenorchy.
- The Laird of Grant.
- Sir James Campbell of Achinbreak.
- Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochneal.
- Sir John Campbell of Calder.
- Earl of Broadalbin.

A Pardon for Sir James Campbell of Achinbreak, Sept. 22, 1721.
Pardon to My Lord Lovat, ditto.
King's letter to Lord Mar, ditto.

LETTER LXII. PAGE 302.

JAMES TO ATTERBURY.

[Copy.]

Rome, November 2nd, 1725.

I was very glad to see by your letter of the 15th of October, that your health was so much better as to allow you to write even upon subjects disagreeable both to you and to me; and I hope you are throughly persuaded of the great value and esteem I have for you, and the justice I do to your character in every respect. I could not but be uneasy when I discovered that a difference had again arisen betwixt you and Lord Dunbar, after I had resolved to give him distinguishing marks of my favor, and had actually in part putt them in execution; and at a time when I beleived that the first difference that happened betwixt you was entirely removed. I have shunn'd conversing with Lord Dunbar on these matters, and he has never attempted to mention them to me. You may be assured that I shall disapprove of the conduct of any one who can shew the least indignity to you, and I hope I shall not want opportunities of showing the world how much I condemn them. I really think you make too much *Cas* of this matter; it is in itself of no consequence to my affairs, providing you dispise it, and Lord Dunbar's distance from meddling in politick matters. The stop you may be sure, I shall put to improper correspondence, was he so imprudent as to undertake any, and the little regard I certainly would have to what he should advance to me on the difference betwixt

you and him, must make that matter and all the circumstances that have attended it, be very soon forgot; and the less is talked or write about it, the less my interest will suffer by it.

I am too sensible of the great support you are to my interest to beleive you cannot be useful to it. You have already contributed much to advance it, and I don't doubt but you'll continue to be as dilligent in seeking my advantage in spyte of all the rubbs you meet with in it; as I shall be active in supporting those who serve me as you have done.

Subscribed, JAMES R.

EARL OF INVERNESS TO COLONEL O'BRIEN.

SIR, *November 14th*, 1725.

I have received your two letters apart of the 22d October and 29th, and shan't make any answer to what you say in relation to yourself, since you ought to be assured of the pleasure Mr. Leviston [the King] will have in every thing that may contribute to your personal advantage.

When 471[s] [the King's] 1156[s] [subjects] quarrel together; That can never be deemed a sufficient motive for Mr. Leviston to discharge either partys from his 1116 [service]; but rather to endeavour to make them friends again, and when that cannot be compassed, to seperat them in such a manner as his 1116 [service] may not suffer by their disunion. Tho' 508 [the Bishop of Rochester] seems to have wished that 471 [the King] had dischaged 528 [the Earl of Dunbar], at the same time, he seems to be sensible of the inconveniences that might attend it; and when he has read the Paper I have sent him about our disturbances here, he will be more confirm'd in that opinion, and would be sorry to be an instrument of

bringing about what it is evident his own enemies so much desire. It may not be amiss that you make Gallifer [the Bishop of Rochester] make this reflexion, and if you think that any thing can be done on 528[8] [the Earl of Dunbar's] part, to satisfy 508 [the Bishop of Rochester], I'll do my endeavours to bring it about, tho' even that may not be an easy matter. However as 528[8] [the Earl of Dunbar's] conduct with relation to Gallifer has been perfect silence since he came here, I am hopeful 508[8] [the Bishop of Rochester's] conduct will be the same with relation to him. Mr. Leviston has yet made no answer to the complaints made on that score, not having yet had time to peruse the details of it.

I am, Sir,
Your most faithfull
and obedient humble Servant.
LA CHARTRE.

END OF VOL. I.

ERRATA.

Letter XXI. page 89, dele the words, "To The King," for the reasons stated in the note at the head of the first Letter.

Appendix, page 37, *for* Letter XX. *read* Letter XIX.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. NICOL, 60, PALL MALL.

00037504

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016